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THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological and Natural History

MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY, A.D. 1853.

VOL. XVIII.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XVIII.

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No. LII.

	PAGE
Francis, Fifth Duke of Somerset: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A.	1
Sheriffs of Wiltshire *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A.	7
Longleat Papers, No. 3 *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A.	9
On the Habits of Ants: By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S., M.P., D.C.L.	49
On an Early Vernacular Service: By the Rev. H. T. Kingdon	62
A Biographical Notice of Samuel Brewer, the Botanist, A.D. 1670: By T. Bruges Flower, F.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c.	71
Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the Present Creation: By J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.	81
Abury Notes	132

No. LIII.

Annual Meeting and Report, 1878	133
"Justice in Warminster in the Olden Time": By W. W. Ravenhill, Esq., Honorary Secretary to the Wiltshire Society, and Recorder of Andover	136
The Black Friars of Wiltshire: By Rev. C. F. R. Palmer	162
Observations on the "Water-Supply" of some of our Ancient British Encampments, more particularly in Wiltshire and Sussex: By Sir George Duckett, Bart.	177
"Kestrels and Crows": By F. Stratton, Esq.	181
On the Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Arthur P. Morres, Vicar of Britford	183
The Bishops of Old Sarum *(Continued)*: By Canon W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon	213
Verses from the Crewe MSS. on the Assumption of Knighthood, temp. James I.: Communicated by Sir George Duckett, Bart.	254

No. LIV.

PAGE

Longleat Papers No. 4 *Continued)* : By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. 257

Consecration of Nuns at Ambresbury, A.D. 1327 : By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. 286

On the Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury *(Continued)* : By the Rev. Arthur P. Morres, Vicar of Britford 289

A Sketch of the Parish of Yatesbury : By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A. (Rector) 319

Proposed Repeal of the Test and Penal Statutes by King James the Second, in 1688 ; His Questions touching the same, to the Deputy-Lieutenants and Magistrates in Wiltshire, with their Answers thereto : including Confidential Returns of the Parliamentary Interests at that period (from the Original State Papers and Documents in the Bodleian Library) : By Sir George Duckett, Bart..... 359

Original Letters from the Wiltshire Commissioners to Cromwell in 1655 (extracted from the Original State Papers in the Bodleian Library): By Sir George Duckett, Bart. 374

Avebury.—The Beckhampton Avenue : By the Rev. Bryan King 377

Review of Books 384

Illustrations.

Extract from Seymour Pedigree, 2. *Fac-simile* of an Aspersio written on spare leaf of a Sarum Breviary, 66. Pembroke's Portrait and Autograph, 81. Sketch of Wilton House, 89. Lady Pembroke's Figure, 99.

Yatesbury Church, from the south-west, 319. Wards of a key, found in a barrow at Yatesbury, 331. Blade of a hunting spear, found in a barrow at Yatesbury, 333. Font at Yatesbury, 344. Section of the Font at Yatesbury, 344.

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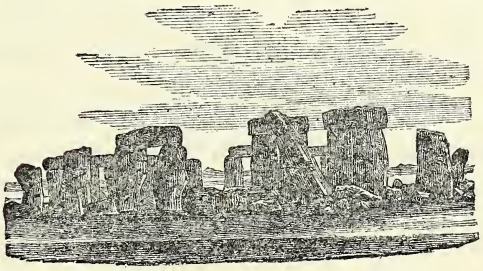

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year,* are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. William Nott, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. Smith, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and C. H. Talbot, Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham.

The Rev. A. C. Smith will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

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Contents.

PAGE.

Francis, Fifth Duke of Somerset: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. 1
Sheriffs of Wiltshire *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. 7
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On an Early Vernacular Service: By the Rev. H. T. Kingdon ... 62
A Biographical Notice of Samuel Brewer, the Botanist, A.D., 1670: By T. Bruges Flower, F.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c. 71
Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the Present Creation: By J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A. 81
Abury Notes 132

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Extract from Seymour Pedigree 2
Fac-simile of an Aspersio written on spare leaf of a Sarum Breviary 66
Pembroke's Portrait and Autograph 81
Sketch of Wilton House 89
Lady Pembroke's Figure 99

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THE
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"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

Francis, fifth Duke of Somerset,
Shot by mistake, A.D. 1678.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.

IN the year 1671, on the death of William Seymour, third Duke of Somerset, a young man of nineteen years of age and unmarried,[1] the estates of Tottenham, Savernake, and others, came to his sister and heiress, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who married the Earl of Ailesbury. The title passed to his uncle, John Seymour, fourth Duke, husband of Sarah Alston, the Duchess of Somerset who founded in this county the Broad Town Charity, and the Hospital at Froxfield.[2] Duke John dying at Amesbury, April, 1675,

[1] William, the third Duke, died of the small pox. A letter (from one of the Thynne family), dated London, 12th December, 1671, the day on which he died, says, "We are like to lose another Duke who is taking a longer journey, the D. of Somersett; he is fallen ill of the small Pocks the infection whereof is soe malignant that they" [the plural "pocks" was always used in those days] "appear rather in purple than red spots. The Phisitians have given him over, to the universal griefe of the Towne." It was this, the third Duke, whom Samuel Pepys saw at Arundell House in attendance upon the Duchess of Newcastle, and whom he describes as "a very pretty young man." See his Diary, 30th May, 1667. The Editor of the Diary errs in his note when he says it was "Francis, 5th Duke, murdered in Italy:" for in 1667, Francis, fifth Duke, was only four years old. The same mistake is made in the Preface to the Fourth Report of the Historical Commissioners, p. xv., speaking of certain riotous proceedings at Whetstone Park, in which the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Albemarle, and the Duke of Somerset were engaged. Of this William, third Duke, there is a fine engraving by Vertue from a picture by Lely.

[2] The noble foundress of the Froxfield Hospital [mis-called *Sfraxfield* on her monument in Westminster Abbey] does not appear to have enjoyed much happiness with her second husband, Lord John Seymour. In 1672, on his succeeding to the dukedom, she presented to the King a petition for a separate maintenance, the

without leaving any child, the title passed to a younger branch, the Lords Seymour of Trowbridge, who resided at Marlborough Castle and were then represented by Francis Seymour, born in January, 1657. (*See opposite page.*)

Francis succeeded (1675) as fifth Duke in his eighteenth year, but his enjoyment of the title and estates was very brief, and terminated sadly. On reaching the age of twenty-one he went on his travels into Italy, accompanied by his maternal uncle, the Hon. Hildebrand Allington (afterwards the fourth and last Baron Allington). This gentleman, being on the spot, sent the following account of the affair, which is preserved in the British Museum, Lansd. MS., 722, fo. 133:—[1]

"An acct. of the murther of Francis Seymour, D. of Somerset, recd. from Hildebrand, late Ld. Allington, who was with him at the time of his death.

"F. Seymour, Duke of Somerset, arrived at Lerice,* on the Territories of the Genoeze, on the 20 April, 1678. At his entrance into the town, he had the misfortune to fall into the company of some French gentn., who travelled as the Duke did, only out of curiosity. It was about the middle of the day when they reached this place, a time when the Churches usually are open, and consequently, where the Italian Ladies were most likely to be seen. Upon this motive they went into the Church of the Augustinians, where the French gentlemen were guilty of some indecencies towards certain ladies of the family of Botti, of that town which was severely revenged upon the Duke soon after. For Horatio Botti, the

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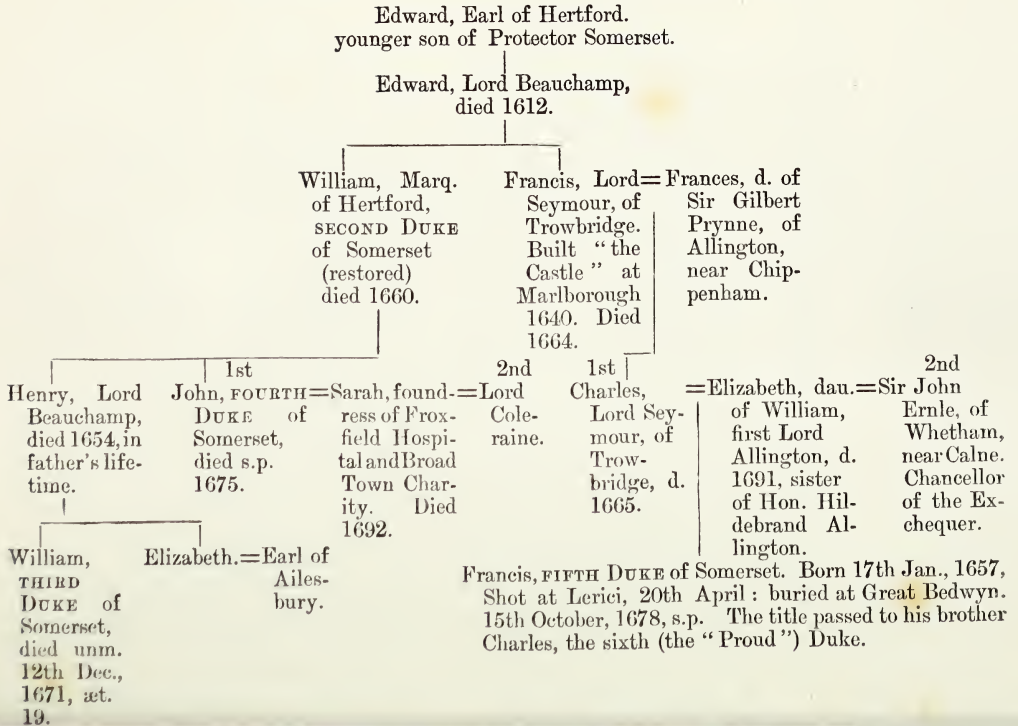
Duke having, as she stated in the petition, "by the instigation of some evil-disposed persons, without any the least cause given by her, withdrawn himself from her and refused to cohabit with her, and would not permit her to come either into his house in London or in the country, and left her quite destitute of maintenance, exposing her to contempt and scorn and her inexpressible grief." She brought at marriage a fortune of £10,000: and it was by her marriage settlement that she had, as survivor, the power of dealing with certain landed estates. She married thirdly Henry Hare, second Lord Coleraine. There is a letter from her (1683) to Lord Coleraine, cautioning him "not to eat too much *mus-millon*—Lord Conway had just died of a surfeit of it." What Her Grace meant by "mus-millon" it is difficult to guess. In an old play by Middleton, called "The Witch," one of the contributors to the cauldron says, "I have mar-martin and man-dragon:" whereupon Hecate corrects her, "Marmaritan and mandragora thou wouldst say." So, perhaps the Duchess meant to say "musk-melon." There is a large portrait of her as a benefactress, in the Hall of Brasenose College, Oxford.

[1] In Collins's Peerage I., 191, there is a short account of this murder: apparently taken from that in the Lansd. MS. given above.

* Lerici is a small place on the sea-coast in the Bay of Spezzia, about sixty miles from Genoa on the way to Leghorn.

An EXTRACT from the SEYMOUR PEDIGREE will more clearly place before the reader the state of the family at that period :—



husband of one of the ladies, having intelligence where the gentn. dined, watched his opportunity, and shot the first person that appeared at the door of the Inne, which proved unhappily to be the D. of Som., of which wound he instantly dyed. An act of barbarity the more to be resented, because the Duke's part, in the rudeness offered to the ladies, was least offensive.

Upon the Duke's death, his uncle Mr. Hildebrand Allington (late Ld. Allington), immediately notified it to the Republick of Genoa, with a demand of justice for so great a crime. That Government seem'd to be highly incensed against the Criminal, and in all appearance used its utmost endeavours to apprehend him and bring him to justice: but he timely quitted the Genoeze Dominion, and so escaped. All that the State could then do, was to fixe a brass plate over the door where the murther was committed, declaring the crime, and promising a reward to those who should apprehend him.

Afterwds. K. James, the 2nd, upon application made to him by the Family of Botti, was prevailed with to give his consent that Horatio Botti, the assassin, might be pardoned. And this, it is sd. he was induced to do, out of resentmt. towards the present D. of Som. (brother and heir to the murthered Duke) for refuseinge to give his attendance on the Pope's nuncio at his arrivall in Engd., which the King had desired of him. By this act the Somerset Family were so highly disobliged, that their respect for that unhappy Prince was much abated."*

The following letters relating to this unfortunate affair occur among the papers of Mr. Henry Coventry, Secretary of State, temp. Charles II., preserved at Longleat. It is evident that the Genoese Government moved very slowly in the matter, as, under the circumstances, was perhaps to be expected. A MS. journal kept by a Mr. Muddiman (which is also among the Marquis of Bath's documents), says that the Frenchmen who were the real offenders, having warning of the intended vengeance of the Botti, made their escape to the mountains.

Secretary H. Coventry to Mr. George Legatt, Consul at Genoa.

"*Whitehall, May* $\frac{20}{30}$ 1678.

"Mr. Legatt.

"The news of the Duke of Somersett's death hath been very surprizing here: His Ma[j]ty. hath seen a letter wrote from the Senate hither to their Consul; and taketh very kindly the care they have taken to enquire after the Murtherers and the resolution they say they have for the severe prosecution of them. And you are in His Maty's name to thank them for it. But I am likewise by the King's command to tell you that you look narrowly that there be no connivence in it, and upon any omission of justice or of search, to quicken

* Charles, Duke of Somerset, was First Lord of the Bedchamber. In a "Memoir of his Life" it is stated that in consequence of his refusal to attend the reception of the Nuntio, King James removed him from all the offices he held.

them; and in case you find any neglect to acquaint His Maty. or me with it. Besides the misfortune of losing so hopefull a young Lord, the damages that arise to the Family are very important, and though it should be forgotten in Genoua, it will not be so in England. And the King is obliged not onely in justice, but by many of the important considerations to shew his resentment. And therefore you are to be very vigilant to observe all the steps are made in this prosecucion, and be sure to shew your own activity in it, and you shall want no encouragement or protection from hence. This is what I have to say to you upon this matter, and I doubt not of your care and industry in this particular that is of so great concerne. I am with all reality,

"Sr.

"Yr. most affectionate humble Servant,
"H.C."

"*To Mr Legatt,*
Consul at Genoua."

The matter appears to have slumbered for three months.

Mr. Legatt, to the Hon. Hildebrand Allington, Turin, 14*th Sept.*, 1678.

"Sir,

"I should have returned answer to yr. most obliging letter 31 past the last ordinary, had ought then innovated here in the Duke's business of moment, I am now to tell you that the 10th instant they had a Great Councill here, who gave full power and authority to the Collegio, wh. is the Duke and Senate, to passe sentence on the Murtherers in the nature they shall think fitt. But this morning I was privately informed by one who knows very well how this affair goes at pallace, that one of the two pallace senators, or Duos di casa, should say the proces must be begun again *ab integro*: wh. if soe, must certainly be with a designe to blame the good Duke, and favour, if not acquit the murtherers; so you will do well to give Sr. John Ernly notice thereof this very post, and to wish him to acquaint his Majesty hereof, and to moove Him in Privy Councill to write a most resenting letter to this Duke and Senate in this business, and presse them without further delay to passe sentence on the 2 Brothers Botti the assassins as I now desire Mr. Secretary Coventry may be done whom I now acquaint with the premises: also what I have allready insinuated here, that, t'is there expected sentence of death be not only past on the murtherers, but that their dwelling-house be rased to the ground and a Tallie put on their heads. And you will do well to write as much to Sr. John Ernly, that this State's Consul be not only briskely told as much by him as also by Mr. Secretary Coventry, but likewise that His Maty gives this Duke and Senate to understand in his Letter such is His Maty's expectation. I shall in the interim not fayle to presse this Duke and 2 Pallace Senators to dispatch the proces and sentence; and I shall desire a Coppy thereof to send for England, holding it necessary in severall respects; and I doubt not but you will see I be reimbursed for charges thereof. I shall not need to make any apology for myselfe that this business mooves thus slowly you having been an eyewitness of the delays they give me, and the many voyages I have made to the Pallace herein. If my life lay on it I can doe no more then I doe in it, having

not His Majesty to backe me, neither to this day have I had one line from Sr. John Ernly. Your other 2 letters you mention I duly recd. Of that from Mr. Secretary I have had the sight and perusall. Your other, for the taking in of the Duke's Corps by one of His Majty's. Frigates, I sent immediately for Leghorn, but I am not certain whether it arrived there in time, receiving no answer from Mr. Duncan to whom I sent it. Pray favour me with your answer hereto and wherein else I may be serviceable to you heere, please to comand me with all freedome. . . . . .

"Sr. your most obliged faithfull and humble servant,

"*Genoa*, 14*th Sept.*, 1678." "Geo. Legatt."

"*To the Honble. Hildebrand Allington, Esq., Turin.*"

Then follows a letter from Secretary Coventry to Consul Legatt to this effect:—[1]

"*Whitehall*, 30*th Sept.*, 1678.

"His Majesty has understood that the Great Council of Genoa has empowered the Duke and Senate to pass sentence on the murderers of the Duke of Somerset in whatever manner they please; but fearing that delay may arise, dishonourable to the young Duke so cruelly murdered and favourable to the murderers, H.M. commands me to signify to you the great indignation he feels at so horrible a deed done on a person of such high rank and quality; and to make pressing application in his name for the immediate passing of sentence on the two homicides Botti: not only that they be put to death but that their houses be razed to the ground, their goods confiscated, and a Tally set on their heads, with the other rigorous penalties that are usually enforced in the case of similar delinquents in cases of even less importance: That this demand be complied with at once; otherwise, his Majesty will be obliged to shew his resentment in some other manner."

Mr. Legatt to Secretary Coventry.

"Sir,

"On receipt of your Hon. Letter of the 10 Sept. I immediately acquainted this Duke with the contents of it, and not satisfied therewith, I went into First Senates to represent unto them His Maty's. sense and expectation about the Duke of Somersett's unhappy business: and that it might have the greater efficacy, I translated such part of the letter into Italian as was convenient, and presented the same unto them, and inclosed yr. Honrs. Letter and duplicate thereof. A day or two after one of the Secretarys of State gave me for answer that now sentence will be forthwith past on the Murtherers of the Duke with all the rigour of Justice these lawes do permitt. He wd. not distend himself farther, or enter into farther discourse with me about the matter, though I pressed it: soe

[1] The letter itself is not forthcoming, but it was rendered into Italian by Mr. Legatt for the purpose of being laid before the Genoese authorities, and is here re-translated from the Italian copy.

I very much feare the sentence in the end will not answer the King's expectations. When passed I shall see to transmit yr. Honour a coppy thereof, and in the interim shall see to hasten it and procure all I can it may be made accordinge to the contents of the aforesaid Letter: what innovation or alteration has been made in the proces I am not able to resolve you, having not been able to get a sight thereof since the two pallace senators were impowered to inspect it; but I find they have changed the notary, and added another counsellor to the Podesta to examine things and consult thereabouts, which confirmes me in my aforesaid feares they intend not to goe much out of the ordinary rodeway, notwithstanding the high degree of the person murthered. I shd. be glad to be deceived however, that the sentence in the end may give his Maty. full content and satisfaction wh., God willing, I shall endeavour rigorously what lyes in me.

"*Genoua*, 16*th Novr.*, 1678.

"Sr. yr. Honrs. most obliged faythfull
"and obedient servant,
"George Legat."

"*To the Honble. Henry Coventry, Esq.,*
His Majty's Principal Secretary
of State."

There is a letter, dated April, 1678, from the State of Genoa to their agent, beginning "Magnifico nostro agente," among Sir Alexander Malet's papers: and among the Duke of Northumberland's, at Syon House (Sixth Report Histor. Commission, p. 221) four letters about this murder, and a copy of the sentence. The murderers were hanged—in effigy.

J. E. Jackson.

Sheriffs of Wiltshire.

(Continued from vol. iii., p. 235.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

REGNAL YEAR.	A.D.	Victoria. *(Continued.)*
20	1857	Alfred Morrison, of Fonthill, Esq.
21	1858	Francis Alexander Sydenham Locke, of Rowdeford, Esq. Brother of the Sheriff of 1847.
22	1859	John Neilson Gladstone, of Bowden Park, Esq., R.N. Brother of Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Died 1863.
23	1860	Horatio Nelson Goddard, of Clyff Pypard, Esq.
24	1861	Charles Penruddocke, of Compton Chamberlayne, Esq. Great Nephew of the Sheriff of 1817.
25	1862	John Elton Mervyn Prower, of Purton House, Swindon, Esq.
26	1863	Thomas Fraser Grove, of Ferne, Esq., M.P. for South Wilts from January, 1865, to February, 1874. Created Baronet, 18th March, 1874. Grandson of the Sheriff of 1789.
27	1864	John Lewis Phipps, of Leighton House, Westbury, Esq. Son of the Sheriff of 1803.
28	1865	Thomas Henry Allen Poynder, of Hartham Park, Esq. Died November, 1873.
29	1866	Ambrose Denis Hussey Freke, of Hannington Hall, Highworth, Esq. Son of the Sheriff of 1841.

REGNAL YEAR.	A.D.	
30	1867	Henry Calley, of Burderop Park, Swindon, Esq. Nephew of the Sheriff of 1807.
31	1868	Charles John Thomas Conolly, of Cottles, Melksham, Esq. Died 1871.
32	1869	Ralph Ludlow Lopes, of Sandridge Park, Melksham, Esq.
33	1870	John Ravenhill, of Ashton Gifford, Esq. Died 1878.
34	1871	John William Gooch Spicer, of Spye Park, Esq.
35	1872	Sir John Neeld, of Grittleton, Bart., M.P, for Cricklade, 1835—1856; Chippenham, 1865—1868.
36	1873	Nathaniel Barton, of Corsley House, Warminster, Esq.
37	1874	Edward Chaddock Lowndes, of Castle Combe, Esq.
38	1875	Charles Paul Phipps, of Chalcote, Westbury, Esq. Brother of the Sheriff of 1864.
39	1876	William Henry Poynder, of Hartham Park, Esq. Brother of the Sheriff of 1865.
40	1877	Richard Walmesley, of Luckenham, Esq.
41	1878	George Pargiter Fuller, of Neston Park, Corsham, Esq. Son of the Sheriff of 1852.

Longleat Papers, No. 3.[1]

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. xiv., *p.* 253.*)*

9. A.D. 1438 (?). Lady Ferrers. Letter to her Son, Lord Ferrers of Chartley.
   A Humble Petition to Her from Alice Swanton, for Payment of some Money.
„ „ 1469. Elizabeth, Lady Ferrers. Mortgage of a Gold Chain as security for a Loan.
10. „ 1542. Assassination of John Ponde, Esq., Somerset Herald, in Scotland.
11. „ 1554, Jan. 13th. Queen Mary to Sir John Thynne. Instructions for Receiving Philip, King of Spain, in case he should Land at Bristol or any Port in the West of England.
12. „ 1554, Dec. 6th. The Pope's Supremacy revived. A Letter of News from London.
13. „ 1568. Lawrence Hyde, Grandfather to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, to Sir John Thynne, asking to buy from him some place in the West, "to plant his issue in."
14. „ 1570, June 11th. The Pope's Bull against Queen Elizabeth read from the Pulpit in Salisbury Cathedral by Bishop Jewel.

From Papers relating to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester: to No. 27 inclusive.

15. A.D. 1559. Mrs. Astley to Lord Robert, complaining of the Queen's unkindness to her Husband, John Astley.

[1] It is believed that not one of these Papers or Letters (except No. 17) has ever appeared in print before.

„ „ „ Mr. Astley, of Melton, Co. Norfolk, to the same.

16. „ 1559, July 2nd. Lord John Grey to Lord Robert Dudley.

„ „ 1560, Oct. 30th. The same to the same.

17. „ 1558—1563, April 8th. Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlcote [The "Justice Shallow" of Shakespeare], to the same.

18. „ 1565, March. Duchess of Suffolk's earnest appeal to the Earl of Leicester, for help to some relative in peril.

„ „ „ The same to Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex, for ditto.

„ „ „ The same to the Earl of Leicester, desiring him to get her excused from Waiting at Court.

„ „ „ The same to the same about the poor Relative.

19. „ 1572, May 8th. Richard Farmer to the Earl, from the Tower.

20. „ „ June 12th. Sir Thomas Wrothe, *alias* Wriothesley, Garter King at Arms, to the same, about the Committal of one Rawlins, for unlawfully playing the Game of Riffe.

21. „ „ June 21. John Bullingham to the Earl, applying for the Benefice of Upton on Severn, Co. Worc., in exchange for Brington, Co. Huntingdon.

22. „ 1572, March 18th. Sir Philip Sidney, on his Travels in his nineteenth year, to his Uncle, the Earl of Leicester, from Frankfort.

„ „ „ March 23rd. The same to the same, from ditto.

23. „ 1574, April 14th. John Scory, Bishop of Hereford, to the Earl, Complaining of an Assault upon Himself and his Servants whilst he was riding to the Parliament.

24. „ 1578, June 18th. Sir Christopher Hatton, to the Earl, at Buxton, about a rumour of his [Hatton's] being about to marry Queen Elizabeth.

„ „ „ June 28th. The same to the same: dismissing the rumour as "a Woman's tale."

25. „ 1578, Oct. 23rd. Henry Besbeche, Land-Steward at Kenilworth Castle, to the Earl his Master.

„ „ „ Nov. 20th. The Same to the same.

„ „ 1579, March 22nd. The same to Mr. Beynham, the Earl's Auditor.

„ „ 1580, March 28th. The same to the same.

26. „ 1578, December 12th. Customer Thomas Smythe to the Earl of Leicester.

27. „ 1580, February 18th. Lettice Knollys, Countess of Leicester. Deposition by Humphry Tindall, the Officiating Chaplain, as to the Secret Marriage of Lettice Knollys, then Countess Dowager of Essex, with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at Wanstead House, on 21st September, 1578.

„ „ 1589, March 7th. Letter from Lettice Knollys, Countess Dowager of Leicester, to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, about the Payment of her late Husband's Debt to Queen Elizabeth.

„ „ 1590. Two Letters to the same Countess [his Mother by a former Husband] from Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, Beheaded in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

IX.—A.D. 1438 [26 Hen. VI.]? Lady Ferrers to her son Lord Ferrers of Chartley.

[This letter having been found among papers of the ancient Roche family, the lady was probably Helen, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas De la Roche, of Castle Bromwich, and widow of Edmund Ferrers, fifth Lord Ferrers, of Chartley, who died 1435. Private

and domestic letters of so early a date being extremely rare, this specimen may be interesting from the quaintness of the language.]

"My dere and well be loved sun I grete you well wyth my hole hert pryncypaly desyring to here gode tythinges of yow and my dowtere yowre wyfe and of my litell dowtere* ye wyche I prey God to encres to his plesaunce and to yowre hertes most ese And hit lyke yow to here of my wellfare I have ben ryte seke sythen I come fro yow I thank God I am well amendede and yf hyt lyke yow to here tythynges of this cuntre ye Kyng will be at Wodestoke atte Seynt Jame tyde and so he cometh doun to Kenyllyngworth † and to Tutbery odere tythynges cannot I tell yow no thes for sothe but be here sey I wold ryte fayne have yow yn y^s^ cuntre and yowre wyfe my dowtere and hit were plesynge to yowe yf hit like you I wyll send aftere my harnes thys wyke that cometh yon and yf there be ony odere tythinges I schall send you worde be my man that schall come fro me to you. I wryte no more atte y^s^ [this] tyme but god yncrease yow to his plesauns Wryten atte Wytakere ‡ on ye morrow aftere Seynt Swythen day I prey yow be not dysplesede y^t^ I send not aftere yowre brodere for his brodere had ye pokkes [small-pox] as sone as they be hole I wyll send for hym

"Be yowre modere ye LADY FERRERS."

"To my dere and wellbelovede sun
ye lorde Ferrers."

ALICE SWANTON'S PETITION TO LADY FERRERS.

[A former Lord Ferrers had left xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.* of wages unpaid to his servant, R. Cheyne. Cheyne had in his will bequeathed that sum to the churchwardens of Walsall Church, Co. Stafford, towards its repairs. The churchwardens pressing Cheyne's daughter, Alice Swanton, for payment of the legacy, she applies to Lady Ferrers for it.]

"Unto my gracious and good Lady.

"In the most humble wyse and as lowly as I can or may, I recommaunde me unto your good and gracious ladyship Besechyng yow to remembre howgh Robert Cheyne my fadir whos sowle God pardone the whiche was of olde tyme servannt and bedeman unto the worshipfull lord my lord fadir unto my lord late youre husbonde whos sowles god have in his blessed kepyng And for asmoche that my lorde your lordes fadirs fadir owid unto my fadir for his services xxxiij*s.* iiij*d.* the whiche money was assigned unto the behove of the Chirch werk of Walsale in

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* This would be Anne, the heiress, who carried the title of Ferrers by marriage to the Devereux family. "My *little* daughter," according to the French usage "ma *petite* fille," seems a more appropriate phrase than the one now in use—"*grand*-daughter."

† Kenilworth Castle at this time belonged to the Crown, and was occasionally visited by Henry VI., in whose reign this letter was written. One of the scenes in Shakspeare, 2 Henry VI. lies there.

‡ Whitacre, Co. Warwick, near Drayton.

Stafford shire Wherfor my fadir chargid me upon his blessing when yt were recoverid that I shulde se that his will were performed and done And now late the seyde Chirch werk ys new bygon And the wardens and rewlers ben come unto London for certeyn causes, they manessyng [*menacing*] and shortely seying unto myn husbonde and me to sewe [*sue*] and abex [*vex*] and trubill us in the lawes bothe temporall and spirituall for the seid money, dredying us dayle to be arested and enprisoned to owre utter undoynge with owte your gracious remedie in haste Wherefor now showe your mercy and gracious ladyship as I may as your pouer oratrix pray God for youre wele bothe bodyly lyfe and sowle. And for the sowles of my lorde your husbonde and hys progenitors and all crystyan and in the wey of charite.

"By your pouer Oratrix and bedewoman
Alice Swanton dowter late of R. Cheyne."

A.D. 1469 (9th Edw. IV.) 21st August. Elizabeth, Lady Ferrers, Mortgage of a Gold Chain as security for a Loan.

[The formality of pledging articles in the reign of Edward IV., contrasts strangely with the shabby Pawnbroker's Ticket of A.D. 1878. In Riley's "Memorials of London," extracted from the Archives of the City, are several similar instances.]

"To all cristen people to whom these present letters shall come see or hear Elizabeth lady Ferreres Wydowe send gretyng in oure Lord God. Know ye we the aforesaid Elizabeth to have bargayned and sold the day of making these letters unto Thomas Cokes of London, gentilman, A cheyne of golde weyghing by the weyght of Troye xiiij unc iij gr. and ½ of an unc', for the somme of xx£ of sterling to me therefor well and truly paid To have and to hold the forsaid cheyne of golde to the s^{d}. Thomas to his Executours and Assignees frely . . . and in peas, therewith to do his own free-will for evermore without eny Reclayme perturbance or lettyng of me the forsaid Elizth or eny other in tyme comming. Nevertheless the said Thomas graunteth by these present letters that when the said Elizabeth doth pay unto the s^{d}. Thos. or his Attourney or Executours £xx of sterling on the xxviith daie of August next comming after the date of this present wryting without eny further delay that than (the said gold cheyne) shall be delyvered ageyn by the seyd Thomas or his executors to me the seyd Elizabeth or to myn Att. [? attorney, appointed to receive] the said paiement And yf I the seyd Elizabeth fayle or yf defaulte be made in paying the seyd xx£ on the seyd day of payment thereof that than the seyd graunte by the saide Thomas made to me the seyd Elizabeth of the deliverance of the seyde cheyne of gold be voyde and had for naught And than I the said Elizabeth woll and graunte and do bynde me by this present Wryting for to warraunte the said bargayn and sale of the said cheyne of gold to the said Thomas his executors and assignees ageynst all manner persons for evermore. In witnesse whereof I the forsaide Elizabeth to this present wryting have sett my seall the xxist day of the moneth of August the ixth yere of the reigne of King Edward the Fourth."

X.—1542. Assassination of John Ponde, Somerset Herald at Arms, near Dunbar.

[In the year 1542, King Henry VIII. sent a hostile expedition into Scotland under the command of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, who was accompanied by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Edw. Seymour, Earl of Hertford (afterwards Protector Somerset) on whom Sir John Thynne was in attendance. The murder to which the following letters relate is thus mentioned in Cooper's Chronicle (p. 316.) :—

"In this season an heralde of Englande, ridyng on the bordere side to doe a message, was mette by certayne rebelles, which cruelly against all lawe of armes, slew him in his coat armure. But they for this moste vengeable deede were sent to the King the yere followyng, who worthyly executed them for that offence."

The victim was John Ponde, Esq., of whom there is this account in Noble's History of the College of Arms, p. 125 (1804) :—

"John Ponde, Esq., Somerset Herald, went to the Interview between the English and French Monarchs. Henry VIII. sent him into Scotland to deliver a message to James V. He unfortunately fell beneath the stroke of an assassin upon the borders of that Kingdom near Dunbar, in that skirmish * in which Lord Bowes and his brother, Mr. Sadler, Sir John Witherington, Mr. Salisbury, Mr. Heron, some of the Percys of Northumberland, Sir Ralph Ives, Mr. Brian Latour and other captains of the Borders were taken prisoners. As this was in open violation of peace and in defiance of all honour, Somerset being basely slain in his tabard, Henry 'vowed to God, singularly, that he would have a revenge for the same,' telling James that if he did not make reparation, 'he would put such order to him as he had done to his father, having the self-same wand in keeping that dang his father;' meaning the Duke of Norfolk who whilst Earl of Surrey, had defeated and slain James IV. at Flodden. The Scottish monarch saw his danger and felt the disgrace, which is allowed by historians to have greatly contributed to bring on that complaint of which he died. The Scots fearing the effect of a potent sovereign justly enraged delivered up Leech, bailiff of Lowth, Edward Leech his brother, with a priest,† who were all executed at Tyburne as traitors: the first, May 8, 1543; the other two June 12 following. Leech who killed Somerset was an Englishman by birth having been one of the Lincolnshire rebels. I presume he [Mr. Ponde] married a daughter of Wriothesley, York Herald, who, surviving him, received a legacy of £40 from her brother Thomas, Earl of Southampton, K.G., Chancellor of England."

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* The Longleat papers appear to say that the herald was not killed in any actual skirmish, but was assaulted while riding on his journey on the King's highway.

† This seems to be a mistake. The name of the third person was Presteman.

Of Henry Ray, Berwick Pursuivant extraordinary, who was in company with Mr. Ponde, all that Noble says, is "That he received instructions for the delivery of Letters to the Regent of Scotland, which of them is not mentioned, and an order for his conduct during his journey. He died in his office in or after the year 1568." (Hist. of Coll. of Arms, p. 188.)

The following are the three letters relating to this affair, among the Longleat papers:—]

1.—1542, 14th Nov. *Ray's declaration for the death of Somerset.*

"Memorand' that Somerset Herald at Armes and Borwik Pursuivante came to Eddenburghe the xiiijth daye of Novembre A^{o} xxxiiij^{to} H. viij And the same daye the said Somersett and Barwik was by a heralde of Scotlande brought before the Erle of Morrey * levetennante, the Cardynall,† the Erle of Argile, ‡the Bussop of Aberdene, Sir John Camell and dyvers others of the counsaillours of Scotlande, And the Cardynall did demaunde and axe the said Somersett and Barwike, Frome whens they came? Who answering said, they came from my Lorde of Norfolke § the King's lovetennant with a letter to the King. Thene the Cardynall did make answer and said, The King was beyond the water of Furthe, hawking, but in what place or where he could not tell, shewing us that the Kinge hadde lefte his counsaill there to receive and take all his letters that did come, And commaunded us to delyver oure letters unto theym and they wolde see us have an answere as shortly as they coulde, and therupon we delyvered the same letters unto the Cardynall and others of the Counsaill, whiche Cardynall comaunded the said heralde of Scotlande to have us to our lodgingis and to see that we hadde good chere, and the said heralde did sende us everie daye wyne, and there we remaned and taried for an answere from the said xiiijth daye of November unto the xxvth daye of the same monethe. Which daye Sir John Camell was appoynted to delyver us the answere and then delyvered us a letter directed unto my Lorde of Norfolke And said Because yee bee commen frome the King youre maistur's lovetennante, the King our maister's lovetennante hathe made answere agayne unto hym, and delyvered us twentie crownes to Rewarde, saying that it was the lovetennant's reward And if that we hadde comen from the King oure maister we shuld have hadde a better rewarde and an answer agayne frome the King their maistir. And uponne foure dayes before we departed oute of Eddenburghe a Scottishe Pursuivante called Dingwell and dyvers others Scottishmen amongis othere commynycations with us hadde, did say unto us 'Take hede of yourselfis in your retourning homewards, for there bee certayne men myendid to doo you harme.' And therupon we desired to have a pursuivante with us for our sauf-

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* Earl of Murray, brother of King James V. of Scotland.

† Cardinal Beaton, the "Wolsey" to King James V.

‡ Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyle.

§ Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, died 1554.

garde And they appoynted us the same pursuivante Dyngwell whiche did give us warnyng to take hede to ourselfis.

"And the xxv^{ti} daye of Novembre the said pursuivante Dyngwell and wee retourned homewards furthe of Eddenburghe towards Dunbarre and was there appurposed to bee lodgid that night. And when we were within two myle of Dunbarre it waxed nere evene and it begane to bee darke Somersett and his boye riding before, and I, Barwike and the Scottishe Pursuivante riding bihynde theym And thene ther came riding twoo men on horsbakk and oon on fote with theyme and overrode Barwike and the Scottis pursuivante and ranne to Somersett withoute speaking anye oon woorde unto hym and oon of thies thre strange men ranne him thorowe with a launce staf byhynde hym and oon othere did stryke hym to the harte with a dagger and the thirde stroke the said Somersettis boye on the face with his swoorde and soo they fell bothe to the grounde And then the said strange men did light of theire horssis and their said hors did ronne from theyme And streightwey the said Barwik and the Scottish pursuivante came to theym and said Fie on you trators he have done a shamefull acte And with that they did leve Somersett lying deade and he that was on fote did runne after their owne horssis and the twoo horsemen did runne to Maister Somersettis horssis and did take theym and lepte upon theyme oon saying to the othere 'Fie, we have loste the other herityke' meanyng the same by the said Barwike And Barwik hering this did spurre and ronne his hors from theyme And they perceiving that they coulde not gette the said Barwik wente bakke agayne and spoiled the said Somersett of his purse, his cote, his swoorde with all his othere gere but his dubblett and his hois [hose], and did give Somersett's said boye x bluddie wounds.

"And when they hadde soo donne the said thre strange men did speake to the pursuivante of Scotlande thenne beinge presente and as he the said Scottishe pursuivante and the boye said, badde hym beare wittenes and testifie to the Counsaill and all otheres that it was *John Prestman, William Leche and his brothere, banysshed Inglishmen,* whiche did sley the said Somersett and no Scottishmen.

"And after this Barwick fledde by the waye up to the mountaynes and he came to a Castell called Ennerwik * and there remayned all that night And on the mornyng I the said Barwik desired James Hamyltone larde of the same castell † to sende to the counsaill that I mought come to speake with the King and theym. And they sente answere to me agayne by a letter that I shulde bee conveied into Englande ground by the said James Hamyltone and oon William Hume with their companyes extending to the nombre of xx^{ti} horses, and soo it was done.

"But yet the said Barwik on the next mornyng accompayned with xx^{ti} families in harnes of the s^{d} James Hamyltone's retourned unto the bodie of the said Somersett and caused the same to be honestlie buried in the parishe Churche of Dunbarre. And alsoo he caused the said Somersett's boye to be loked unto by wey of surgerie for healing of his wounds but whether he shall live or die the said Barwik knoweth not."

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* Alnwick: from which the next letter is dated, written after Ray's arrival there.

† The title of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was, at this time, under attainder: which may account for "James Hamilton" (second Earl of Arran) being "lorde of the castle."

2.—*Earl of Hertford (?) to the Council.**

"From Alnwick 29 Nov. xii of the clock

"My Lords after mooste hartye Recomendations unto your good lordships it maye pleas the same to understand that yesterdaye at night arrived here with me Henry Rey pursuyvant at Armes declaring unto me at length the mooste cruell mooste pitifull and moost shamefull murdre of the Kings Maties true servante Somerset Harrold at Armes as he was coming in his retorne hitherwardes with aunswere from Th erle of Murrey touching the delyvree of our prysoners nowe in Scotland whos letter I was soo bold to opene and to loke uppon the contayne thereof, which if I had knowen a little sooner thene I did it mought perchance have coste many of their lives. And in my pore opynyon, my lords, this despitefull murder is oon of the greattest dishonour that ever came unto the King and Realme of Scotland, and cannot otherwise bee takene but that it was conspired, ymagyned and prepensed before by some maynteyners and berers of the murderers considering that after the murdre commytted, they disclosed theyr names to bee Leche and Presteman as if this prepensed murdre shuld be done by Englishe traytors and not by Scottish men, and as me seemeth by the discovere of Barwik's declaration, that the said Leche and Presteman having none other Refuge but oonly in Scotland, durste never have reveled their names soo manyfestly upon the commytting this detestable murdre; whiche thing and sundry other conjectures gaddered oute as well by the demeanour of the said Somerset, he never being at quarrell nor distaunce with any man in Scotland nor none there with him as, by the discourse of the said declaration, causethe me to think that it was done by some othere malitious Scottishmen namyng themself after the murdere to be Leche and (Presteman), and that it was a murdre rather prepensed by conspiring enemies than otherwise. But surely, my lords, the King's Mat^ie^ hath by theis meanes loste oon wise discrete and trusty servant and as toward a man for his tyme by such knowlege as I have herd of hym as any was in th' office at Armes.

"I doo sende unto your lordshipps herewith as well the said Erle of Murreys letter and also oon other letter of his sente unto the said Barwick, to my Lord of Norfolk as the declaration of the same Barwick conteyning the said murdre, and also such other newes as he perceived at his retorne from out of Scotland."

[*The rest about military movements.*]

3.—*Copy of "a letter sent to the King of Scots by the Earl of Cassels, &c.*

"6 Dec. 1542

"Sir, it will please your grace, this ferd (?) day of December my Lord of Hertford cam fra the bordures to this town [Newcastle] and showed to us that Somersed Harold was lately slayn comand [coming] fra your grace within Scotland. And syns we have hard qwho [how] your grace hais apprehendit the comitters of the said habominable crime. And sir we your graces subjects coulde do noa lesse nor advertis your grace; beliefand [believing] surely your grace will cause the said cryme be duly punished and prinsipally that the execution

* This letter is in the original rough draft, and is endorsed "the copy of a lre to the counsaille xxix. nov. at xii at noon:" no writer's name is given, but it appears to be in the handwriting of the first Sir John Thynne, and, from the corrections, to have been composed by him for the Earl of Hertford.

of Justice may be made within this Realm on the persons comitters of sic an horreble offence to your grace hye honor and forth-showing of your grace mynde to the punyssion of sic trespassers sen never sic like hais been don in your grace Realm, and ferder the eternall God mot presyrve your grace highnes. At Newcastle this VI day of December.

"Yo^{r} grace humble servants
GEORGE OF CASSELLS
MAXWELL
LORD SOMVELL
LORD GRAY."

XI. 1554, Jan. 13th. QUEEN MARY TO SIR JOHN THYNNE. INSTRUCTIONS FOR RECEIVING PHILIP OF SPAIN IN CASE HE SHOULD LAND AT ANY PORT IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND.

"By the Quene.

"MARYE THE QUENE.

"Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well. And where the right high and excellent, our good Cousin the prince of Spayne is resolved within short tyme to come into this our Realm: Forasmuch as we doo much desier to have him both at his landing and in all other places of his passage well and honorably used and enterteyned as to the estate of so great a Prince, and the propinquitie of bloud and straite alliaunce betwene us apperteynith. Albeit we thinke his best opertunity of landing shalbe about Southampton or Portesmouth, yet doubting how the winde and wether may serve and that therefore it may chaunce him to land at Bristow or in some other our portes in the west countrey, we have thought good to pray and require you to putt yourself in order with suche gentlemen of your neighbours and friends as you may to give attendance upon him yff he doo land in any of the said western portes, as sone as he shall come nere the borders of that our Countie of Wiltes, and for that purpose to harken diligently where it shall chaunce him to land attending upon him continually untill you shall perceive other personages of honour to repaire unto him for the same effect, And during the tyme of your attendaunce upon him, we pray and require you to take order, that things necessarie for him and his trayne may be supplied in all places as honorably as may be whereby you shall administre unto us right acceptable pleasure which we will not faile to reteigne in our good remembraunce to be considered towards you as occasion may serve. Yeven under our Signet at our pallace of Westminster the xiiijth day of January the first yere of our Reign.

"To our trustie and welbeloved Sir
John Thynne Knight."

[*The seal used is that of K. Edw. VI.*]

XII. (1 P. & M.) 1554, Dec. 6th. THE POPE'S SUPREMACY REVIVED. A LETTER OF NEWS FROM LONDON.

Richard Roberts to Sir John Thynne.

"6 *December* 1554

"We say here and it is so published openly, that the supremacy is lefte and by common consent restored again to the Pope's Holynes as to our Supreme Head

on earth. And the L. Chauncellor* at Powles Crosse on Sonday last, being present the King's Maj^tie and Cardynalls theare, with a marvellous multitude of people, signified to the people that the Houses of Parliament had so determined the same, inducing not onely th intent and meaning of K. Henry the 8th to be soe to have yelded that title up again to the Pope (wch had taken place in case certen obstacles of worldly pollicy had not ben), but also how the title of Supremacy was abused in the tyme of the late King Edw. VIth; who, being a child, for the first part of his Reign had a Protector or Hedde over him, that ordered, ruled and governed him so as therby he proved, that the same K. Edw. who bare the name of Supreme Hedde had a hedde above him, and therefore concluded that the Kinge was but the shadow of the supreme Hedde, and in all his Reign no Hedde at all. And then after the Duke of Somerset was goon then succeeded another (naming the D. of Northumb^d) who for a while also ruled the roste † and all was as he wolde have it, and then had the King another hedde over him; and this said last duke, without any title took upon him a like authority, as Capt. Kett of Norfolk might have done in case he had wonne the battle at Norwich. And then came the Quene's Highness and she w^d. not medle at all with the supreme Hedde so as thys long tyme we were, by my Lord Chauncellor's argument, without that which now God be thanked we have."

XIII. A.D. 1568. Lawrence Hyde, Grandfather of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, to Sir John Thynne, asking to buy from him some place where he might "plant his issue," in the West of England.

[This letter is written from Wardour Castle, which had been confiscated in 1552 by the attainder of Sir Thomas Arundell and granted to William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke. It appears that at this time, 1568, Laurence Hyde had a lease of Wardour which had six years to run and would expire in 1574. The Earl of Pembroke died in 1569: and the Arundell family soon recovered their estate by purchase.

Laurence Hyde was a lawyer, doing county business, managing estates, elections, &c. He lived for some time at West Hatch in in the parish of Tisbury. In the Wilts Institutions he is named as "de Warder, gent." Patron in 1564 of Stratford Tony.]

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* Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

† In common usage this word is spelled "roast," as if the meaning were "to preside at a dinner." Todd, in his edition of Johnson's Dictionary, suggests that the word may have been originally *roist*, a tumult; and that ruling it, meant, managing the rioters. But is it not more likely to be derived from the A.S. *hrost*, the roost on which a bird sits, in which case, he who ruled the *roost* would be, in barn-yard phraseology, the "Master bird," or cock of the dung-hill?

"Now that th' Erle of Pembroke ys become your good Lord I trust there wyll be no lett for you to make your sute to the Quene's Highnesse to exchaunge your Prebend of Thame [Co. Bucks] with hyr Majestie; wherein I hoope you will helpe me awey with my parsonage of Kyveleigh * for some land in these West parties; as heretofore you have thought you should be well hable to do, yf th' erle were no impedyment to your sute. I have no frend that ys hable to helpe me therin but only yow, or some by your meanes. Mary, I wyll shyft yf nede be for a hundrith poundes to bestowe upon such one as you shall thynke mete to further the matter to effect: although I sell a quyllet † of land for hyt. Where hyt hath pleased you to graunte me a leasse of your land in Clopton ‡ for terme of my lyff and my sonnes, I beseche you let me intreate you for the fee symple thereof, bycause I woold be gladd to plant myne issue in thys cuntree to lyve with that lyttle that I have provyded quyetly, and not be dryven from post to pyller as I have bene. And I verely trust so to brede my chyldren as they shall be both hable and wylling to serve your posteryte, as I have (to the best of my small connynge) served you. The profett of the land ys not great: hyt lyeth ferre from you. And although I knowe you may have more money for hyt then hyt ys woorth yet I trust yf you lett me have hyt for reasonhable money you shall not thynke hytt yll bestowed. I wyll with a good wyll gyve you £200 for hytt and thynke myselfe muche beholdynge to you besyds. My terme in Warder ys but syx yeres in whiche tyme I myght make upp suche a house there as I woold content myself withall, so that when I shulde be dryven to remove yet I myght remove to a plase of myn own, and not after to seke a newe. Also I desyre hyt the rather for that a man shall not in all hys lyff tyme fynde a place voide of leasse. And although I know that th' estate of Jacobb § ys not good, yet the quyett possession wyll not be hadd without some trouble, or yll, or yll speche at the least. Thus leavynge to troble your Mastershyppe any further at thys tyme, I end, and commytt you to God, who send you contynuance of helth with increase of muche worshippe. From Warder Castell the xxth day of Januarye 1568.

"Yours at comaundement

"To the Right woorshypfull
Sr. John Thynne Knyght
at hys house, Channon Rowe ¶
yeve these wt spede."

"L. Huyde." ||

[*Seal: Arms of Hyde.*]

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* Keevil, near Trowbridge, Wilts.

† A *quillet* (from *quidlibet*, Johns. Dict.), when used in speaking of land, meant a small outlying piece.

‡ A farm of this name in Co. Som. belonged at that time to the Thynne family. (R. C. H. Heyt. p. 78.)

§ An allusion, perhaps, to the Patriarch's early peregrinations.

|| There are many of his letters at Longleat, and he invariably spelled his own name "Huyde." He was deputy to Sir John Thynne, who held the office of Queen's Surveyor to the Co. Wilts.

¶ Sir John Thynne's house in London at this time was in Canon Row, at the back of Parliament Street, with a garden down to the river; and next to the Earl of Hertford's house, The ground belonged to the Dean and *Canons* of St. Stephen's Chapel. It is sometimes in old plans miscalled "Channel Row."

XIV. A.D. 1570, June 11th. The Pope's Bull against Queen Elizabeth read in the Pulpit at Sarum Cathedral by Bishop Jewel.

Henry Parry to Sir John Thynne.

"xi June 1570.

"Thys daye in the pulpit at Sarum my Lord dyd uppon good considerations showe furthe a Bull from Rome,* in the whyche the Pope dyd declare the Quene an heretique and therefore no lawfull Quene of thys realme. By the same bull all her leage subjects discharged of theyre obedience, and that yt maye be lawfull unto all that do receave the same Bull to burne, robbe, spoyle and kyll the Quene's frynds as the Pope's enemies. Thys day solemly it was shewyd. Uppon Sundaye next my L. will read yt and expounde the same. I would spend a fatt oxe that my L. the Erle † were present at the same: unto whom I praye you do my humble commendations expecting when yt shall please hym to commaunde me into hys crue [crew—company), good reason wolde so, for bycause of hym I am not nombryd of any other crue."

"To the Right worshipfull
& my very lovinge frende
Sire Jhon Thynne Knyght,
and Shreve of Wiltshire."

The next Letters, to No. xxvii. *inclusive, were found among Papers relating to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.*

XV. Mrs. Asheley to Lord Robert Dudley, complaining of the Queen's unkind treatment of John Asheley, her Husband.

[This letter is neither dated nor signed: but the date must have been before September, 1563, when "Lord Robert" became Earl of Leicester. The husband's name being mentioned in it, gives that of the writer.]

"My very good lorde I beseke you now remēber me for I have had suche greffe to be so ny [nigh] my helper and can not be helped y^{t} I have axsed leve to departe and gonne I am. but I wyssche you dyd se yn what case I am, yu will no [know] more than far off, for I can not outter ye tenth part off my wrachednes [wretchedness], but yff I continue a lytel thes [thus] I am sure I shal never se you agayne. I wel not wrette but one worde y^{t} ye quenes mageste said unto me and y^{t} was sche cowde never forgeve my husbond nor never love hym; yff yt be so my good lorde for christes sake let hym never troble hyr presence / better yt

* This was the celebrated Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, as an usurper and a "servant of wickedness," by Pope Pius V., which Camden calls "a vain cracke of words that made a noise only."

† The Earl of Hertford, son of Protector Somerset.

ware y^{t} we wraches [wretches] ware ded than comber hyr and I wel go yn to my cotre [country] and dwel w^{t} my pore kynge [kin] and pray for hyr grace dayely. I have a sister a wido y^{t} well be glad of us bothe for al though I had rather chuse dethe than go from hyr hyt [yet] suche ys my bonde as wel off frendshep as off mariage y^{t} I wrache mouste folowe. I never se so woffull a man as I fonde off my husbond: for he thynketh as he had good cawse y^{t} al hys service ys forgote for intendyng nor menyng harme moust never Juge y^{t} sche has sum other mater to him than thes which bereth ye face, or els sche cowd never dele thes [thus] with Jhone Asheley: who never had other Joye than to drawe al menes harttes to hyr w^{t} suche comendacyons and presses [praises] y^{t} sche was beloved or [*i.e.*, ere] sche was knowen / you can be a wyttenes to thes and cowd he now be Juged y^{t} had any intent to dyshonor hyr? No! No! My lord forgeve me and bere w^{t} my foly for I cannot wel tel what I write."

Address:
"to my very good l r" [Lord Robert]

Mr. Astley, to Lord Robert Dudley.

[There is neither name of writer nor date of year to this letter: but being docketed by some Secretary "January 1559. A—y," and being written "from Melton in Norfolk," it is at once identified as coming from one of the Astley family, ancestors of the present Baron Hastings, of Melton Constable, near Thetford in that county. "Astley" and "Ashley" being often used indiscriminately, it is probable that the writer of this letter is the "John Asheley, the husband" referred to in the former one. There was a John Astley connected in some way with the establishment of Elizabeth whilst only Princess. There is a letter written by him from Hatfield to Roger Ascham, who had been the Princess's tutor, but was then abroad, in which Astley speaks of their friendly fellowship together at Hatfield, Her Grace's House, and at other places: of their studies in reading together Aristotle, Cicero, &c., their free talk mingled with honest truth, and their conferences about the troubles of the time (R. Ascham's Works, 8vo., 1815, p. 5). There was also a John Astley, of the Melton family, Master of the Jewel House to Queen Elizabeth. It is probably the same Mr. Astley to whom the following passage in Camden's Hist. of Elizabeth (p. 227) refers. The Duke of Anjou being announced as a suitor for the Queen's hand, some French noblemen belonging to his suite were

so kindly received at the Palace at Richmond, that Leicester began to be very uneasy: "And indeed a little before, when *Astley* had covertly commended Leicester unto her for a husband, she answered in a chafe, 'Dost thou think me so unlike myself and so unmindfull of my Royal Majesty, that I should prefer my servant whom I myself have raised, before the greatest Princes of Christendom, in chusing of my husband?'"]

"Wher I have not satysfyed yor lordshyps advyce in fulfilling my duty to have wayted thys Crystmas, I trust your lordshype wyll never the more accompte me forgetfull of your good wyll. for neyther lyght regardyng your lordshyps advyce nor want of consyderacion of your wontyd favours was the cause of my slackeness herein. but beyng more then half drownde in dett, thorough mysery in tyme past, and some other charges (as your lordshippe partly knowethe) make me gladd to toyll, to stope the cry of suche as hathe hetherto forborn to call on me: in hoape that my releef (at thys daye) sholde have made me suffycyently able to satysfye theyr fryndly expectations. Whyche beynge voyd, in seekyng their own, they call on me that (therby) am dryvyn (with toyle of boddy and unrestfull mynde) to keepe my credytt, to save myn honestye: and for that I see my servyce too slender, to deserve any worthynes of reputation, I am the bolder to absent myself, to serve thys needfull turne rehearsyd: but my poor servyce though yt be mean, carryeth as grett good wyll as he that ys best able to serve: yt pleasyd your lordshype to gyve me sume comforte of my sute, wherby I am the more desyrous to hear how you remember me therein. Yff yt maye therefor please your lordshype to bestowe your lettre on me by thys berer. I must a gret dele the more thynk myself bound to you And thus lest I shold too much troble yor lordshype I humbly take my leave From Melton in Norfolk the xxx day of January

"To the Ryght honorable the lord
Robert Duddeleye, Master of
the Horse."

Endorsed: "January 1559.
A.y."

XVI. A.D. 1559, July 2nd. Lord John Grey to Lord Robert Dudley.

[Lord John Grey was brother of the Marquis of Dorset, and uncle to Lady Jane Grey. He was convicted of high treason in Queen Mary's reign, but restored in blood by Queen Elizabeth.]

"My good lord robert, I hartely thank you for yor taulbut" [talbot: a dog for hunting] "wyche thoghe he be not the swyftest, yet wold I be lothe at thys tyme to comende him unto you for the shurest unlest y^{t} be when he hathe the dere yn his mouth, and then assuredly he ys won of the shurest holding houndes that

ever I sawe / Well my Robert I perseve by M^r. Elmes you are wylling to make amende and agaynst amende no man ought to be / wherefore I hartely desyre you to send me a good sure flyte in recompens of this bolte and bobtayell for I am nowe become a flyngger, thowge I be but a farmer / my lord I most requier yor lordshipp to dyscharge my dewty wth my most humble comedatyons to the queene's hyghnes whos good helthe (God I cawle to wytnes) I dayly pray for / wysshyng that she wold not to moche presume of her owen strengthe as to be let bludde bothe in the fute and arme all at won tyme, becawes yt was more then ever I heard don to onny / you may be well assured my fayre was the greater / I have chosen this later part as it wer to compel you to wryte unto me a gayne wyche yf you do not at yor. parell [peril] be yt. Yt pleased the quenes highnes at my departure to geve me to [2] bouckes [bucks] in Haufnaker* and ij in Goodwood / the warrauntes wer left w^t Tome ascheley / yf they be not syned then I pray yor lordship to get me syned and sent / I wold also requier you to get me a warraunt for a stagge in the forest of Wolmer and send me a good hound that shaull recover him when he ys strycken and I will send you haulfe of him / do I not offer you reason.

"from Haufnaker the second of July 1559.
"by yor lordshippes asshuredly dowring lyfe
"JOHN GREY."

Addressed:
"To the ryght honorable
and my very good Lord
the L. robert Duddely
Master of the quenes
magesty's horsys geve thees."

Endorsed: "Julii 1559.
John Grey."

Seal. Unicorn salient: the sun behind.
[Crest of Earl of Stamford.]

1560, October 30th. THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"My Lorde i am verye sorey that i have put youre Lordshype to this travell and payne, seying the matter ys lyke to come to no better pas / butt this I wyll saye to yor Lordeshyppe, that the Queenes Matie nether was nor ys lyke to be agayne so muche dessayved in no exchaynge of Lande as she ys lyke to be in this / for I assuer you she shalle gyve for every peney of that exchaynge xij^d. whyche in the holle [wyll com to an on resonabell som, for i tell you truly the woodes that be appon that Lande that my Lorde of Arrendell † shalle have wyll purches the holle Land that he geves for exchange butt yff there be no remedy but that he must needds have hyt, I pray you my Lorde, be an erneste suter to hyre magestey, to gyve me leave to pull downe suche old rotten howses as sarves for nothyng, butt puttes me to greate charges, the repayryng of them, and maye cause hym to pycke quarrels to my lese / also too have a good Bande [*i-e.*, bond] of hym, that I maye injoye my yeres queyetley, for he that threteneth me wyth

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* Halnaker Park, near Goodwood; mentioned by Leland as "Halvenaker, a pretty house by Chichester."

† Henry Fitz-alan, Earl of Arundel, was John Grey's brother-in-law.

the enteryng or ever he have hyt wyll nott lett me be in rest after hyt ys his From Halfe-naker the xxx daye of October.

"by yor lordshippes
"assured frynd to
"my power
"JOHN GREY."

"To the Right onnerabell
my verey good lorde the
Lorde Roberde Dudle
master of the Quenes horse."

Endorsed: "October 1560
L^{d}. John Grey"

XVII. 1558—63, April 8th. SIR THOMAS LUCY, OF CHARLCOTE [The "Justice Shallow" of Shakespeare], TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.

"Right honorable, and my singuler good lorde: pleasith it youar honor to be advertised that according [*sic*] youar lordships request and my one promyse I have sent you my sarvaunt Burnell whom I feare will not be hable to doo yor lordshipp such sarvice as I could wish nor as his hart woold sarve, for that by occasion of longe sickues his strength is greatly decayed and thereby his shuting much hinderid. Youar lordshipp must take hede in making of yor matches that Burnell be not overmarked for that at this instaute he is hable to shute no farr ground which if youar lordshipp forsee I doo not mistrust but he will be hable to shute with the best. Thus as one of the lest of youar lordshipps frieuds in power or habilitie to doo youar lordshipp any sarvice or pleasure, allthough as willing as the greatest in hart and good will as youar lordshipp shall well understand when occasion shall sarve, I com̄ende you unto Almightie God who send you long life in the feare of God with increas of honor according to youar lordshipp's one desier. From Charlcot the viijth of Aprill, at youar lordships com̄aundment during life

"THOMAS LUCY."

Addressed:
"To the right honorable
and his Singuler good
Lorde, my L. Roberte
Dudley, M^{r}. of the
Quenes horse." *

XVIII. 1565, March. THE DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK'S EARNEST APPEAL TO ROBERT DUDLEY FOR HELP.

[Katharine Willoughby, in her own right, Baroness Willoughby D'Eresby, was the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

* There is no date of year on the letter; but as Dudley was not appointed to be Master of the Horse before 1558, and ceased to be "Lord Robert" in 1563, when he was created Earl of Leicester, the letter must have been written in the interval between those two years. A copy of it was communicated to N. and Q. in 1867.

After the Duke's death in 1545, she married Richard Bertie; and being a zealous supporter of the Reformation, was compelled with her husband to make their escape abroad. They suffered great privation, travelling on foot, without food or shelter. This is made the subject of a ballad, printed in Burke's Extinct Peerage ("Duke of Ancaster"). Their story is also told in Fox's Book of Martyrs, in Collins's Peerage ("D. of Ancaster"), and in Lady G. Bertie's "Five Generations of a Loyal House." On Elizabeth's succeeding to the throne they returned to England. It does not appear for whom, both in this and the following letters, she was applying so earnestly to Dudley.

"Nowe me good lord evene for gods sake thenke un my poore cossen / and speke for him to the quens majeste, hows [*i.e.*, whose] most honorable charette I troste wol for God's cawse conseder the poor man and his messerable estayt / I pray you pardon my tho I be so bolde so offen to trobele you mor then any other; yor. gentlenes towards me is the cawse off it / for others have so moche to do that the seme [*i.e.*, they seem] always wyre [weary] off me, and truly I do not blame them tho they be so, for I am even wyre of me selffe in thys mater / never the lyes I fend master tresserer vere gentel to my, also howe [*i.e.*, who] hathe promesed me faythefule to do his beste when so ever it shal plese you to cal un him: and for the rest of our godfathers for crestes sake speke to them yor selffe and help that my poor cossen war but out of the tower, and he she and I, w^{t} al ther cheledren, shal ferst acording to our dutes pray for the quenes mageste / and nyxte for you as our ownle helper under her / *helpe, help, helpe, helpe* my good lord that it war don.

"yor poor humble suetter
"K. Suffoulk"

Docketed: "March 1556 *
K. Suffolk."

The same to Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex.[1]

"I have resayved yor. lo. corteos letter and thankes you for it, but I am sore that you shold so understand off me that I shold seeke any meanes to make you do any theng to offend har highnes no my good lorde I have benne alwayes I troste clear from any suche towche bothe for my nowen doings or procurings off any me frends, and I hope be gods lyve so to countenue / for the takeing off the

* The date is not given in the body of the letter, but docketed 1556 on the back by some other hand. It appears to be a clerical error for 1565: because in 1556 Mary was Queen, the Duchess herself in exile, and Dudley by no means possessed of such influence at Court as he had in the following reign.

[1] There is no date upon this letter. It is similar to the foregoing one, but it is only by conjecture that it is considered to refer to the same subject. It was found, not among Dudley's papers, but among those relating to the Earls of Essex.

manes I wol no forder press yor. lordship / but for my selffe I pray yor. lo: to have a better jugement off me / iff I haydde not knowen his true harte and humble obaydens to har maieste I wolde not have wrytten for him nyther have kepett him me selffe al thes tyme off his mezssere [misery] / w^tout wyche help he his wyffe and poore cheldren myght have deyd in the stretts / and that I am suer wold not have plesed har maieste / and on the other seyd I thenk iff any worthe or juste cryme cold have benne proved a genste him / my howes colde not have saved him from feling the smart off his desserts / and thus me good lord I lyve any forther to trobele you / praing God to send you a prosperos and comfortable joyerny

"Yo^r. lo: poore frend
"to me power
"K. Suffoulk."

"To my vere
good lord the
Erle off Essexe."

The same to the Earl of Leicester, desiring to be excused from Waiting at Court.

"For so muche as I acounte yor. l. me vere speshel frende I am bold my good lorde to troble you / I understond be some off me frendes har majestie lookethe for me wayting thys halledays and also when memeranse coumethe / God knowthe but for har maiesties plesser a parsson most unfyt for a corte evere ways / and yett not mor unsemely / than unably (nowe in me old age to rome up and dowen the stretes twyes a day and hathe no plase to rest me in) beseyds me paynes me shame is as grette / for nyther they off the citey nor my countrey frends but jugethe iff I was not outerly out of har maieste's favor I cold not be lyse consydred off nowe than I have benne in my younger days / and suche dyskredet makethe M^r. bartey * and me unable ether to serve har maieste in the cort or in the countrey / meght it plese har maieste therefor so gratiously to connsedder off har poor old subiecte / as ether altogether to pardon me from wayting or eles when I shall wayt I may be better oused [*i.e.*, used] than so to rome upe and dowen lyke a kaste away / my request is but onle at har maieste's standing howses I may have a loging notw^thstonding without har maiestes goodlyking and commandment to wayt I myne not to troble it muche, nyther at any tyme to be chargeable to har maieste / thus me good lorde for god's sake doo yor. beste herin that you may obtayne ether the on or the other / and so I pray God blesse you in all yor doings.

"Yo^r. l. asured frend to me
"poor power
"K. Suffoulk."

Address:
"To my vere good
lorde and vere frend the
Erle off lesseter."

Docketed: "The duchesse of
Suffolke touching
her waighting."

* Richard Bertie, Esq., her husband.

THE SAME TO R. DUDLEY.

"If it had so plesed God I had rather have cume thys day to have donne my dewte in watting on the quene's majestie and so to have spoken with you me selfe then to have trobled you with my elve [*i.e.*, evil] hand and worse engleshe / but with the good wyl of God I must be conntent praing you therefor my good lord if you hier har majeste speke of me to declare unto har for me the truthe of me absence wyche is onle sekeness and that so exstremle wons yesterday that I thowght I shold no mor have senne har / but God be praysed I am a lettel and in cumparesone a grette dele better to day and as thys [be] our coumfortes in sekenes adversettes persecussens or wat eles in thes world can hapene us that they be sent of God for our profett and that nothinge can hapene ames [amis] to his elect chelderen / and he hathe also geven us hys Dere sonne to be a saveyr and medeator suche a won as ways countent to abayse himself for our sakes as to come dowen and take on him thys wyke fleshe in the wyche he sufered al things for our sakes, senne onle exsepte, wherfor he hathe the mor pette [pity] of his aflected and after his exsample tychethe us so to pette won another as we wolde be pettede wyche makethe me wons more bolde to troble you be cawse I beyng seke and other ways at leberte and much mayd of makethe me the better to thenke and conseder they wyche be in lyke case of sekeness and laketh bothe the on and the other wat sorows they fend when we in better case be resone of sekenes can fend no comfort / Alays, I knowe the quene's majeste wantes not thys pytte for I have hard har myselfe lement thos wyche hathe loste duble the presse of calles [double the price of Calais] as Boner layte bashope of Londone by his wyling cruelte no fue nomber of the saynctes of God hathe loste ther lyves, no fue nomber ther soles, wyche inded is the gretter losse of ij. and I thenke he ways no grett frend to har majesty's persone and yet throwe har mercy he lyvethe at suche leberte as he him selfe, consedering his owen cruelle factes, I thenke cold not have hoped for Nowe whey sholde I then dyspayr in har majeste's mercy for me Ingnorant cosene, howe [who] I am suer, ways and ys of al men to be exskwesed for any wylfule tryspasse in the losse of the castel* / and as touchyng the counsel I can not but also have a good hope that they wol showe themselves so honorable in doyng justes that in no wyes the seely mane cane suffer wrong whyer so many other of coumpaynes as gret in honor and truste have found such mercy Wel this is al no man dothe in suche things wat he lyste but as God apointhe him Wherfor I wool commet bothe you and the casse to him howe [who] saythe Blessed is the merciful for he shall fend mercy, praying him in al things to aseste you with his grace

"Yo^{r} assurede to my powre
"K. SUFFOULK."

XIX.—1572, May 8th. RICHARD FARMER TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER, FROM THE TOWER.

[Richard Farmer was, apparently, an officer or agent about the

* This seems to have been the cause of the disgrace into which the "poor and ignorant cousin" for whom these letters of the Duchess of Suffolk plead so strongly, had fallen with the Queen. But nothing has been met with to explain the case more particularly.

Tower of London, and he reports to Dudley the conduct of certain persons then in custody for being connected with the plot for marrying Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to Mary, Queen of Scots.[1] The names in the letter are Powell, Bannister the Duke's counsellor at law, Barker, a secretary, Hyckford (Higford), Sir Henry Percy, Gudyere, Lowder, the Bishop of Rosse (John Lesley the champion of Mary, Queen of Scots), and Lord Lumley. All these names are mentioned in Camden's history of this affair (Camden's Elizabeth, pp. 162, 163, edit. 1675.)

The sarcasm about "a *Horse-keeper* becoming Lord Steward of England," which Powell is here stated to have used, has generally been attributed to Mary, Queen of Scots. Dudley was Master of the Horse; a title which on his monument in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, is rendered "Hippocomus."

In this letter, dated 8th May, 1572, Bannister is called "the *late* Dewk's man." The Duke of Norfolk was not actually beheaded until 2nd June following, but his title would have ceased on his attainder.]

"Yn most humeble wyse and yt may please yow^{r} honor to pdon my bowldnes yn trobl$\bar{y}$g yow^{r} Lordshyp w^{t} thys my symple lett^{r}. wh. ys to advet̄es yow y^{t} Powell layte pencyoner y^{e} ii day of thys ist̄at mōth or thereabouts sayd unto Bannyst^{r} y^{e} layte Dewks man, 'How say yow, yow shall se shortly a horse kepper made L^{d}. steward of Ingland, and dyd speake y^{e} same w^{t} so lowd a voyce, y^{t} those words were herdd of syche as stode w^{t}owt ye Tower apon ye Wherff, and as thay say y^{t} herd yt myght easyly have been herd to ye furth^{r} syde of Tems This ys to be proved by dyvers persons w^{h}. herd ye sayd words / Hys Lybbertye is syche that he hayth dayllye used conferans of talk to all ye presoners that lyeth both abowt the upper and nether gardyngs. Powell's lodḡig ys yn thed of ye gallarye betweyn ye sayd gardyg̈s allso hys mother, hys wyff, and hys brother hayth comed to se him dyvers and many tymes to the Wherff nere to hys lodg̈yg, hayth spoken together and thay have used bowld and manyfest toknes and sygnes [signs] and sendyng of messayges to hym and from hym att there pllesewres by hys keypper Mr. Levetenad̄'s servad̄, and as for Powells brother he hayth comed dyvers tymes bowldly yn to the Tower to ye getleman portter's howse.

"Forther, ye vi day of thys yst̄at mōth ye sayd Bannester dyd say to Powell y^{t} he was burdened to have resseved letters yn syffers [cyphers], but Bannester sayd y^{t} he cōfessed but one letter w^{h}. my L. and Berker and Hyckford had cōfessed

[1] See *Wilts Magazine*, vol. xiv., p. 196.

affore and he sayd Thus yt ys to have to doo wyth syche weake men / Allso Bannester sayd y^t^ he was burdened to have ressayved dyvers letters and bowks from beyond ye see but that he cõfessed none / Howbeyt he sayd he thoght that thay cowld not have dryven yt so ferr as thay have done. Thes words of Bannyster I dyd here and so dyd a gerdiner y^t^ wrowght yn ye Qweynes gerden.

"Moreover, S^r^. Herrye Persaye and Gudyere hayth had great coferans together both yn ye day tyms and ye nyghts / Allso my Ladye Persaye was one tyme secretlye browght to S^r^. Herrye by Mr. Levetenãd and so cõtenewed one day wyth hyr husband and wythyn ij days after y^t^ she toke hyr yorney ynto ye North.

"Allso gudyere's Keypper whose name ys Gowdge hayth rydne ynto Suffolk and Norffolk dyvers tyms yn great hayst and retorned agayn as he did now laytely and at hys last retorn home Mr. Levetenãd semed to dyschardge hym forth of hys servis, but yett he werrethe hys Lyveray and hayth dally recours yn to ye Tower and yesternyght layt yn ye evenyg ye sayd Gowdge presed to gett so nere as he could unto ye waytter syde agayst Gudyers lodgeyng there to have spokene w^t^. Gudyere and mayd dyvers synes to hym yn so mych as one of ye qweyns gunners whose name ys Geordge Fawkener challenged Gowdge for maykyng syche synes and toknes, but Gowdge asked Fawkener what he had to doo withall? Fawkener answered y^t^ he had to doo therewith for y^t^ he ys ye qweyns sworn servant and sayd, I tayke not yow to be ye qweyns frend y^t^ mayks syche synes and toknes to hyr enemyse at so unlawfull a tyme, and another lesser man of Mr. Levetenãds stode thereby ryddye to have done ye lyke as semed for he dyssyred Fawkener not to say any thyg of hym, syche a like man named Hoklay of layte Keypt th erll of Sowthampton ye w^h^ Hoklay dyd come w^th^yn thes ij days forth of Suffolk and Northfolk but senst hys comyg home last Mr. Levetenãd semes not to soffer hym to Keype ye sayd Erll. ye sayd earll and Mr. Hare may have conferanse w^t^ S^r^. Henry Persye and Gudyere everye day at ther plesewres. Allso Mr. Hares wyff and hys men hayth daylly recours to hym and rydes oftne yn to Suffolke and Northfolke and other playces and retorn to ther M^r^. agayn at there plesewres.

"Moreover Lowdder useth dayly to walk upon ye Leads above hys Lodgyg and ther he maykes synes and toknes to ye Buysshop of Rosse wh. bysshop useth dayly to walk yn Mr Levetenãds gardidg and lykewyse mayks synes and toknes to Lawdder / and thys have I and others dyvers tyms seyn

"Allso ye iij day of thys ystãt mõth my Lo. Lumlay walked upon ye Leads above hys lodgyg opnely, sayd to a presoner yn ye nether gardyng, I wyll tell Mr. Levetenãd, ye presoner answered, I care not one hallfpenye for Mr. Levetenãd.

"Thus for ye dyscherdge of my most bowndayn dewtye unto ye qweyns mayesty and to yowr hono^r^ I have presumed to troble your Lo. yn thys rude manner maykyg bowld to send for your L. Servãd Robert Constable on Monday last and wylled hym to declare thes prowd and hanos words of Powell agayst yowr hono^r^, besechyg God y^t^ he and all other trators may have strayte Jvstes accordyg to ther Just dysserts, and for the more tryall of my dewty and gudwill to bryg to Lyght so mych as hayth lyne yn my power thes layte tresone even from ye begynnyg yt ys not unknowen to ye ryght honorable S^r^. Francis Knowlls and S^r^. Walt^r^. Myldmay besechyg yowr L. to stãd my gud L. y^t^ I may susteyne no dysplesewre for thys doyg so I shall dayly as my accostomed man^r^ ys pray for ye qweyns mayestyes pres'vatyon and for th ecrease fellyssetye and honor

long to cōtenewe. from ye tower of London thys eght day of may 1572.

"Yow^r^. honors most humeble
assewred at yow^r^. cōmandnēt
dewīg lyff

"Rychard Farmar."

"To ye Ryght honorable
my vray sīgler gud L.
th erlle of Layster M^r^ of
the qweyns mayestyes horse
one of noble ordd^r^ of ye gertt^r^.
and of hyr mayestys most honorable
Cowsell dellyv^r^ thes
w^t^ speyd."

XX.—1572, June 12th. Sir Thomas Wrothe, *alias* Wriothesley, Garter King at Arms, to the same, about the Committal of one Rawlins, for unlawfully playing at the Game of Riffe.

"Mine humble dutie done to yor. Lordship; concerninge the cōmittinge of John Rawlins otherwise Yonge this is the truthe. / On sondaie was sennight he cam̄ to me aboute ix of the clock or som thinge before to speake wth. me being in my bed, sicklie as I am still. I sent to him to sende me worde what the the matter was, he sent me that it was aboute a licence, to playe at games which yor. lordship, and others of the Councell had graunted him / and that he desyred to speake wth me his self. So I sent for him to my bedds syde, and Loked uppon his License: and fyndinge there a greate meanye of Lawfull games named, and in the ende and laste this worde Riffe was written; and after generall words to kepe playe at all other Lawfull and usuall games. I then asked him (Yonge I meane) what game this Riffe was, he sayd it was a game at Dise cast out of a dishe, and so forthe, a thinge I knewe well enough. Then I tolde him that that word putting in had hurt his Licence and made it suspitiouse: albeit I knew ther hands that were at it / for I tolde him I thoughte he had begyled y^r^. Lordships in thrustinge in that worde Riffe, which is not onelie an unlawfull game, but also a disceytfull game: wherein he did somewhat stand with me in the defence of the game. Well, in the ende after Longe talk, I tolde him that I did honor all ye Lords of the Councell doing as became me, and wold further then as became me, and to them that had sett ther hands to his Licence I was so bounde, and especiallie to y^r^. Lordship, as, they might cōmande me bie message to do in anye thing what I might Lawfullie doo / And so sayd unto him that for all his Lawfull games, he shuld not onelie have mye furtherance for yor Lordshipps sakes, but I wolde also comaunde the highe constable and other offycers to assist and further him the best they colde, but for the Riffe because it was an unlawfull game and an evell example to the Queene's people and that I thought yor Ll. were scante previe to that worde and the meaninge of it, I told him that I colde in no wise suffer him to Kepe play at that game: he answered me flatlye that except he might have playe at that game he wolde Kepe playe at none, for all the games he said were losse to him, his gayne was onelie at that. I told him it was unlawfull, and therefore he must not playe at it. He urged me verrie moch. I tolde him then somewhat shortlier, but with good words that he shulde not Kepe playe at that game in Midd^x^. if I might knowe it, and said unto him that I was lothe to hurte him and therefore praied him to forbeare that game, for I assured him if he Kept plaie at that game in Midd^x^. I wolde cōmit him which I

wolde be sorrie to doo. So he departed moch greved, saying that he thought I wolde deale better than I spake. So when he was gone I sent for the constables and willed them to attend upon Yonge and to assist him and further him in Kepinge plaie at all the games named in his Licence savinge the Riffe but that they shulde not in anye wise suffer him to Kepe plaie at that game. They did soo. After dinner tyme Yonge went owt with his drom to call the players togither into the felde the Constables attended unto him and told him that they had commaundment not to suffer him to play at the Riffe which they wolde execute, so becawse he might not plaie at the Riffe he wolde plaie at nothing, and so passed that daye and the Sondaye following he went over the other syde Enfield Chase neere to Hadley but in Enfeld parishe, and there wth sounde of the drom he Kept his playe at the Riffe, that daye which when I herde of, I wrote to the highe Constable to bringe him and the players, with his partners unto me whiche they did the next daye: the players were gone because it was late before the constable had my letter: but having Yonge and one Thomas Carter a shomaker of London (who sayth he is Yonge's partner) before me, I sayd unto them that they had doble offended, being warned and forbidden, yet wold purposelie break the lawe to the offence and hurte of the Quene's people. My dutie therefore was to commit them which I wold doo....They intreated me: I said, I must doo the lawe. In the ende I said, if they had seuerties to answer the doinge I wold bayle them. Yonge said he had no seuerties: his partner the shomaker desyred that one of them might be taken to be bounde for an other: I was contented (for in deede I was lothe to comytt them) and so the recognizance was writinge [*i.e.*, being written]: then Yonge after a longe pause sayd—He wold be bounde for no man, nor no man shulde be bounde for him: he had rather be committed, I tolde him it was better to be bayled and used some perswasions but he wolde not, he wolde rather goo to prison, and so I committedd them bothe: Seure, mye Lorde, I thought it a dangerouse example chefely at this tyme of the yere, to suffer a sorte of lawles persons to caule bie sounde of Drom all the unthrifts in a countrie to gither to do unlawfullie. This is my whole doing in this matter and the causes of it. If I have offended my Lords of the Councell or yor. Lordship in it, I am verrie sorrie for it. My devotion to her Matie and her Lawe, mye-thought bounde me to it. Your Lordship I trust dothe knowe not onelie howe lothe I am to offende yow but also howe glad I wolde be to honor or pleasure you, which opinion I humblye beseech you to continew: you shall never have cause to the contrarie of my part. And thus wisshing your Lordship Increase of God's good gifts in you I will humblie take mye leave. From my howse in Enfelde this 12th of Jun. 1572.

"Your Lordships humblie to comaunde
"Thomas Wrothe"

"To ye righte honorable my
singular good lorde the Earle
of Leycester, one of her Maties
most honorable privey conncell
M^{r}. of ye horsse and Knighte of
the most hon'ble Order of the
Garter. Del."

Docketted: "xij Junii. 1572
S^{r}. Tho. Wrothe."

XXI.—1572, June 21. John Bullingham to the Earl of Leicester, applying for the Benefice of Upton upon Severn, Co. Worc., in exchange for Brington, Co. Huntingdon.

"My bounden deutie towards your honour in maner most humble premised. May it please the same to be advertised that aboute a yeere paste a certen gentleman of yor honours, named Mr. Drewell did me to understand that yor honour's pleasure was, yf I were mynded to geve over at any tyme my benefice of Brington in the countie of Huntingdon (being valewed aboute £xxxvi in the Queen's Maties booke) that then I should signifie the same unto your honour. O wold to God I poore Bullingham were hable any thing to dooe that might be acceptable unto yor honour, Whiles lyefe lastethe I must remember howe courteouslie and carefullie yor. honour obteined of the Queen's ma^{tie} for mee, my prebend of Woorceter. my natieve countreye, wheare I am resident, and wheare my worldlie joye is to bee. I shall never forgett howe honourablie yowre honour did boethe speake for me to the queenes highnes, and write alsoe to my lorde of Canterburie in my behalfe, comaunding me at that tyme to repayre to yor honour, if I have anie suite to the Queene's Matie, who standeth my most gratious Ladie: the Kyng of heaven preserve her, and all her welwillers. Nowe I am redie and wylling to comitte to yowre honour's disposition my benefice of Brington, lying in countreye farr of from mee, for a meaner benefice being within seaven myles of Woorceter: the name of it is Upton upon Syverne. Boethe Brington and Upton are of the queene's Maties gyefte. God knoweth I seeke this chieflie for the quieting of my conscience for nerenes and partlie for the maintenance of my poor hospitalitie, whereunto whether I be geven, or not, I report mee to God and the countrye. I have byn at charges this yere in repayring the Chauncell and howse of Brington, and nowe all the fruites are to be receaved, wch. yowre good honour may dispose as to the same shall seeme good, soe that it maye lieke yor honour to obteine the gyefte of Upton upon Syverne in the Countie of Woorceter at the Queenes Ma^{tes} hands for mee poore Bullingham. The late incumbent's name was Dee *alias* Dye, who ys dead, as we are crediblie enformed here in the Countreye. I am unhable (my good Lord) to travell at this present: otherwise to ryede and runne had byn my part, *quia mora trahit periculum*: but soe soone as god shall hable mee I will wayete on your honour to dooe my deutie. The resignation of Brington I am redie to yeld upp imediatelie, the gyefte of Upton being obteined. Thus craving pardon most humblie of yor. honour for my boldness, I beseche the lyving Lorde to be yowre honours defendour boethe here and hereafter.

"From Woorceter this xxith of June. By
"yor honour his humble and faythfull oratour
"John Bullingham."

"To the right honourable, my
singuler good lorde, my Lorde
Earle of Leicester, &c.
theise geve./"

Endorsed: "John Bullingham, xxi. June, 1572."

XXII.—1572, March 18th. Sir Philip Sidney, on his Travels in his nineteenth year, to his Uncle, the Earl of Leicester, from Frankfort.[1]

[Sir Philip Sidney, born at Penshurst, in Kent, 29th November, 1554, was the son of Sir Henry Sidney, by Lady Mary Dudley, sister of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. With Wiltshire he was much connected by the marriage of his sister Mary with Henry, second Earl of Pembroke. He was often at Wilton, and at Ivy Church. John Aubrey, among other anecdotes of him ("Letters from the Bodleian, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 552") says: "My great uncle, Mr. T. Browne, remembered him: and sayd that he was wont to take his table book out of his pockets and write down his notions as they came into his head, when he was writing his Arcadia (wch. was never finished by him) as he was hunting on our pleasant plaines." In 1585 Queen Elizabeth having taken the Protestants in the Netherlands under her protection, sent a military force to their assistance, and appointed Sir Philip Governor of Flushing. He was followed by his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, who made him General of the Horse. He died 16th October, 1586, about a fortnight after receiving a wound at the Battle of Zutphen, and his body was brought back to England and interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. After the burning of the Church Aubrey saw Sir Philip's leaden coffin, under "Our Ladies Chapel."

Sir Philip has had several biographers, some recently.[2] Letters written by him are very rare. In his "Works," collected by W. Gray, 1829, only six are given, of the years 1572, and 1586. His handwriting was remarkably neat and precise. He spells his own family name, "Sidney;" but his father, Sir Henry, in letters preserved at Longleat, writes "Sydney."]

"Ryghte honorable and my singular good Lorde and Unkle, this bearer havinge showed me the woorkes he dothe cary into Englande gave me ocasion

[1] In Collins's lives of the Sidneys it is stated that his license to travel was dated 25th *May*, 1572. But both the letters here printed are dated from Frankfort in March of that year.

[2] H. R. Fox Bourne, and Julius Lloyd.

humble to sende these few woordes unto yowr Lordeshippe, thoughe my wrytynge at this presente unto yow by an Englisshe gentleman that dothe now returne, take away any other cause of enlarginge the same. This bearer hathe promised me to lett no man see that whiche he carieth untill he have showed them unto yowr Lordeshipp, If they may seeme unto yowr Lordeshippe unworthie of whiche I shoolde wryte unto yow, I do most humblie beseche yow to condemne therein nothinge but my ignoraunce, whiche bendinge it selfe wholie to content yow, if it do erre, I hope yowr goodness will suffer the dutifull mynde, to recompence the wante of judgemente, whiche beinge all that I have at this tyme to trooble yow witheall, I will most lowlie committ yow to the eternalls protection. Frome Francforde this 18th of Marche A° 1572.

"Yowr moste humble and moste
"obediente nephew
"PHILIP SIDNEY."

Addressed:

"To the ryghte honorable and my singular unkle, the Earle of Lecestre"

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1572, March 23rd. THE SAME TO THE SAME, FROM FRANKFORT.

"There being nothinge of whiche j am so desyrouse (ryghte honorable and my singular good Lorde and unkle) as to have continuall and certaine knowledge what your pleasure is by whiche I may governe my little actions. I can not be witheout some grief, that neder since I came into Jermanie I coold by anie meanes understande it. Wherefore I have moste humblie to beseche your Lordeshippe that if in any of my proceedings I have erred you will vouchesafe to impute yt to the not knowinge youre Lordshippes and their pleasure, by whose commaundemente I am lykewyse to be directed. I was uppon Thursdaie laste withe Count Lodowick the prince of Oranges seconde brother, whose honorable usage was suche towardes me, and suche goodwill he seemes to beare unto your Lordeshippe, that for wante of furdre habilitie, I can but wishe him a prosperouse success to suche noble entreprises as I dowte not he will shorteley (wth the helpe of God) put in execution. I founde one Shambourg an Allmaine withe him, a gentleman whom I knew in ye courte of Fraunce, allways very affectionnate to the Kinge's service. I dowte not but that he assaiethe to draw the Cownte to serve the Kinge, but I hope he laboureth in vaine. All mens eys are so bente to the affaires of Fraunce and Flaundres that there is no talke here of any other contrey. I have an humble requeste unto your Lordship which is that it will please you to thanke Maister Culverwell the bearer hereof, for the courtoisie he showed unto me, in employinge his creditt for me, being drivne into some necessitie. Thus craving pardon for the continewance of my wonted manner in vainely trobling your L. I will moste lowlie leave you in his garde who ever preserve you. Frome Francfort this 23th of Marche, 1572

"Your most humble and most obedient nephew
"PHILIP SIDNEY."

Address:

"To The moste honorable and my very good Lorde and unkle The Earl of Leicestre, etc."

XXIII.—1574, April 14th. JOHN SCORY, BISHOP OF HEREFORD, TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER, COMPLAINING OF AN ASSAULT UPON HIMSELF AND HIS SERVANTS WHILST HE WAS RIDING TO THE PARLIAMENT.

[John Scory, consecrated Bishop of Rochester, 30th August, 1551, translated to Chichester, 23rd May, 1552. Deprived by Queen Mary, 1553. In 1559 made Bishop of Hereford by Queen Elizabeth. Preached at the Consecration of Archbishop Parker.]

"Mine humble commendations unto your honor remembered. Whereas yt is not unknowen to your L. that the last yere riding towardes the Parliament House I withe my servants was assaulted by ij of the Pitchars of this contrie and theire complices on whiche assaulte one of your honors servantes was by the said Pitchars then most shamefullie and wilfullie murthered Since whiche time the said Pitchars like fugitives absenting themselves from these parties could not by any meanes be apprehended untill that upon the 12 daie of this Aprill one of the said Pitchars with his man well weponed did in the market place of the towne of Worcester assault one of my house being naked without weapon and then and there sore wounded him insomoche as it is doubtfull wheather he will live or dye. Wherupon the said Pitchar being by the officers of the said towne apprehended, my soonne and your honors servaunt immediatelie went thether and did arrest the said Pitchar for the wilfull murther by him comitted upon his felowe the last yere, and also did enter into band of xl^{li} to prosecute the said arrest against the said pitchar with all effect: Maie it therefore please your honor to be favorable to this suite which my Soonne and your servaunt hathe undertaken onlie for duetie that he oweth to your honor and affection to his fellowe and if it shall not thus seeme good to your L. that yett you will not hinder the suite of your good servaunt whereby the said offender might escape without punisshment for the said horrible murther Otherwise I assure your honor that nether I nor anie of mine shall be able to remaine in this countrie for the continual danger of losse of our lives by the said pitchars and theire adherents And thus praying your honor to have consideration of the dangerous state of me and mine I commend the same to the Grace of Christ At Whitborne* the 14 daie of Aprill 1574.

"yor. honors humbly to comaunde

"To the right honorable
the Erle of Leycester his good Lordship."

"Jo: Hereef."

XXIV.—1578, June 18th. SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON, TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER, AT BUXTON, ABOUT A RUMOUR OF HIS [HATTON'S] BEING ABOUT TO MARRY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"My singuler good L. I most humbelye thanke yo^{u} for yor most honorable Lres. And towching yor Lp. most earnest and carefull dealynge too remove

* Whitbourne, six miles from Bromyard, Co. Hereford. The Bishop had a palace there.

us out of the passwage too my Lo. Northe his howse: my L. Chamberlayne* hathe broughte it well too passe, thoughe not in that course your Lp wisshid: in respect he made hir Matie prevye of the impossibilytey (the time considerid) his Lp found too furnishe his howse accordinge too his dewty and honorable good will, delyverynge very frendlie the alterracons of the times with all other circumstances that might make good for the matter.† . . . . Before God, Sir, hir Matie standithe muche grevid with your impayrid state of helthe wch. I delyverid too be worse then yor. selfe suspectyd She muche mislikethe that yor. L. had not Julio ‡ with you in respect of his acquaintance with your bodie and his continuall judgement uppon the state of the same and much blamithe Mr. Baylye that he wrightithe not how he procedithe with you. I suppose she will send Mr. Julio for in trothe this matter troublythe hir.

"Since your Lp. departure, the Q. is found in contynuall great Malencoly: the cause thereof I can but gesse at, notwithstandinge that I beare and suffer the whole brunt of hir myslike in generallytey. She dremithe of mariage that might seeme injurious to hir: makynge my selfe too be ether the man or A paterne [patron] of the matter. I defend that noo man can tie him selfe or be tyid too suche inconvenyence as not to mary by law of God or man, except by mutuall consents as bothe parties, the man and woman, vowe too mary, eche too other, which I know she hathe not done too any man and therfore by any man's maryage she can receve noo wronge: with many more arguments of the best waythe I could gether: but my L. I am not the man that should thus soddenly mary, for God knowithe I never ment it. By my next I thynke you shall here moore of this matter I fere it wilbe found some evell practise: For matters of state I leve them to Mr. Secretary, but in them and all the rest I will performe A thankefull dewtie towards yow while I live. And soo my good L. with prayer on the knes of my hart for your good helthe and contynuance of prosperous estate I humbelie take my leve, this xviij^th of June 1578.

"Yo^r. good Lp. most bound
"durynge his liffe
"Chr: Hatton."

Addressed:
"To the ryght honorable my singuler good L. th Earle of Leycester geve these."

1578, June 28th. Sir Christopher Hatton to the Earl of

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* Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex.

† The "passage to his house" appears to mean, some visit that the Queen intended to make him, and which Lord North was, at the moment, not quite prepared for. The Queen however did visit him at his house, Kirtling, near Newmarket, and was received in a way, says Holinshed, "not in the least behind any of the best."

‡ Dr. Julio, an Italian Physician (whose surname was Borgarucius), about the Court of Elizabeth. His name, as well as that of Mr. Baylye, mentioned in this letter, appear unfavourably in the malicious book entitled "Leicester's Commonwealth," where they are described as auxiliaries to Dudley in procuring the removal of persons who were supposed to be in his way. There is much about Dr. Julio in Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal (8vo., p. 333, Anno 1576). He had "married one that was wife to another man," which proceeding gave great offence to the Queen, and was partly the cause of the disgrace into which Archbishop Grindal fell; alluded to in a subsequent note.

Leycester,[1] dismissing the rumour as "a Woman's Tale."

"My singuler good Lo. yor. lres to me were acceptably receyved w^{t} hir Maties unto whom I was bold to present them: becawse they cheffelye recorded the testimonye of yor. most loiall disposition from the begynninge too this present time. The Q. rejoyced muche in the matter, and was pleased too protest y^{t} she full well believed it: whatever the malice of the world wold make of the contrary. Twise she hathe red them: and in that I see this course of your dealynge dothe worke suche comfort and contentment in hir I wold wishe you often wrotte too soo good profytt in the same or suche like propoticions. Hir highness praithe you excuse hir yf she now writtithe not to your lp. w^{h}. she lothelye deferithe because you take soo great joye as she percevithe in hir scribelyd lynes: w^{h}. thoughe in paper you fynd crokyd and awrye, in matter you shall ever fynd to be treu and straite and as full of faythe as any meaner friend could make them. Her Matie thynkithe your absence muche drawen in too lengthe, and spetially in that place, supposinge in dede that A shorter time wold worke as good effecte with you, but yet chargithe you that you now goo throughe accordinge too your physitians opynion, for if now thes watters worke not A full good effect, hir highnes will never concent that you cumber yor selfe and hir with suche lonnge iorney agayne. My good l. yor brothers busenes goythe slowlye on. The indisposition of hir Maties bodie forbiddithe us in reason too troble hir in matters of suche nature. but my good L. I will noo lesse deale [therein] then I am most bound when I shall fynd A tyme that [I may] aptelie further o^{r}. good purpose.

"The byssop of Canterbury [Grindal] has ofte sent too me too enquire of y^{r} good Lp. helpe in re[spect] off his cause.* I have not answerid that yor Lp hathe effectually written in the same. And I have delt accordyngly with hir ma^{tie} at whos hands when good may grow (w^{h}. yet I fynd not) I will soo deale: it shalbe delivered by yor. hands. Of the matter of mariage wch. I supposed in A practise I here noo more: nether can I suspecte reson[ably] otherwise then that it was some folishe woman's tale. Hir Matie beginnithe to stande doutefull of hir progresse, and in dede if hir helthe be not moore constantly assuered too hir it were not fitt to take so longe a iorney.

"Hir highnes most earnestlie requerithe yor. Lp. that you comaunde some speciall provision too be made for geldings for hir owne sadell: she fynding greatt want of them, and without she may be better furnished she thynke it impossible she should passe the progresse without hir great travell and disease. The great warrant is . . . Lp. there w^{ch} (as Grise saythe) is nedefull to be passed . . . Ther be diverse new occurrents from Flanders, France and other parts, wch. in dede I have not yet seen. Mr. Secretary I trust will acquaint your

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[1] The Earl of Leycester was at Buxton, Derbyshire, taking the waters. The *original* of this letter is in a very frail and undecipherable condition. Sir Christopher Hatton, on reaching the foot of the first page, turned the paper upside down, to continue his writing: and in a Postscript makes a droll apology.

* This probably alludes to the disgrace into which Grindal had fallen with the Queen, about the "Exercises or Prophesyings," which she very much disliked, and ordered him to put down. It ended by his being confined to his house and being sequestered for six months. See Strype's Life of Grindal, 8vo., p. 343.

Lp. with them. All matters within my knowledge at this present are within the ordinary course: and therefore I would not trouble your Lp. with them. I have receivid letters from my L. of Shrewsbury wherein he thankethe me for . . . all dealeings towards him with most earnest asseveration of faythe to hir Matie and care of his charge.* I will not fayle Sir (for suche is your charge) too doo him all the service I can, for suerely I doo beleve he dothe and ever will deserve most soundelie well of hir Matie. I humbely beseche you Sir, that you will thanke him for his honorable letter withe suche comendations of my pore good will as it pleasethe you to say for me. My L. Chamberlayne wrott to yor Lp. by the . . . he fearithe you received not his letters because you made no answere by this messinger. This court wantethe your presence. Hir Matie is unaccompanyed and I assure you the chambers are almost emptie. I pray God you may [return] with good helthe and contynew here with most prosperous . . . and best contentment. I most faythefully and . . . acknowledge the . . . my dewtyfull service unto y^r. Lp: and soo with my most humble recommendations of the same I take my leve. God l . . . yours, amongst whom I know and pray for my good Lo. of Pembroke who may in trothe comend my service which I trust you have warranted unto him. At Grenewich the Court this xxviij^th of June 1578

"yor. most honorable
"Lps. bound poor frend
"CHR: HATTON."

"I pray Sir pardon this error: for many times great hast makethe evell spede: the lower end of this paper had not els byn turned upwards."

XXV.—1578, Oct. 23rd. HENRY BESBECHE, LAND-STEWARD AT KENILWORTH CASTLE, TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[These letters from Mr. Besbeche have so far a claim to being interesting, that they were written from a castle of historical notoriety, now a mere ruin; and that they refer to the domestic affairs of its celebrated owner. Such men are generally known to us only in their stage costume and by the parts they are made to play in the great political events of their day. It is sometimes not unpleasant to get a glimpse of what was going on at their own homes.]

"I had bothe writen and sent rather to yor L. but that I thought yo^u had bene on yor Jurney to Wilton: and some staye I had also by meanes of the wekenes and imperfytnes of my hande w^ch (I thanke god) I have reasonably recovered yet not perfytt hole nor like to be this thre weks but no daunger at all. I came in a luckye owre from London for I fownde lesse offence in traveling then I had ease in a solitary chamber at London. I have sent yor. L. a brase of does suche

*Mary, Queen of Scots.

as yor grounde in my keaping will yelde. I woulde they had bene suche as I wolde have wisshed them, but hereafter you shall have better, they bealing * at the rutt and the wett wether wch we have had hathe hindred them moche. I have also sent yor L. the graundam of the black sprits: † for sure yf any infernall sprits cum above grownde they ar kyn to her and her breede: the great displeasures they dayly doe ar to long to wryt and therefore we have fyrst kilde the mother and hereafter you shall have the childerne from tyme to tyme. Sir H. Leye was at the killing of her, whoe can reporte her fercenes, &c."

[Then follows a long statement about rents. The Earl had reckoned the amount he was to receive out of his rents in Warwickshire at £700 a year. He is informed that it does not exceed £500.]

"Sir J. Hubaude ‡ hath bene here att Kennelworth one weke in weak estate and kept his chamber: what he intendeth to do I know not as yet. He hath bene verye ill tormented but no daunger as I hope and gesse. He takithe yt verye kyndly the sending downe of H. Gouldingham wherein yor L. hath comforted him very moche. And I beseche God send your L. comfort of any thing yor L. hath . . . . From yor L. castell of Kennelworth the xxiiith of October 1578. Your moste bounde servant Henry Besbeche."

1578, Nov. 20th. The Same to the same.

"I had thought to have sent yor L. at this present tyme bothe a great bore and principall does, but the wether hathe faulen owte so extreme wyndye and rayny all this weeke as we colde not performe our intent: one of the greatest wilde bores lyethe aboute Henlye in Arden and dothe moche harme in the country and they have sent woorde sondry tymes to the castel that yf yor L. will not kill him the contry will kill: whereuppon I pointed Rychmonde and Duck to go this Thursdaye last to go kill him, but yt woulde not frame: but before yt be long yor L. shall have him. And I the same daye hunted for good does but the wether was so extreme fowle that we coulde not meete with the best, but yet good does for suche a grounde: but there are better, as hereafter yo^{u} shall se, yf this wet wether mar them not. I trust Graunt will use some more diligence in the carriage of theis. I am to advertise yor L. of that w^{h} will nothing like you, but I said as moche to yor L. this somer. The black buck of Stonelye wood is ded in the woods there. I founde him so weake the last winter as I was sure he coulde not live an other winter: but yor L. made warrants of him. Nowe he is ded. There is also 2 great Staggs ded in the chase, th'one killed wth his fellows, th'other with a pale: I had also in my parke a young Stagg and an owlde hinde killed uppon the

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* *i.e.*, "belling:" the low guttural sound made by the animal at the rutting season.

† Probably some wild sow: for in the next letter animals of that kind seem to have abounded at that time in the neighbourhood.

‡ Sir John Hubaud was one of the executors named in an original will of the Earl's (but apparently not his last will) which is among the papers at Longleat.

pales. I have yet 4 staggs left and 3 hinds and hersts and 2 calves. All other your things are well, thanks be to God: I have rec^{d}. agayne yor L. grew-hounde the poorest that ever I sawe: no marvell though he ranne slenderlye, for he was skarce able to goe. I meane to restore him agayne, and then he that cane fore runne him shall wyn best horse. I am glad of yor. L safe returne in helthe after yor travell, wch I beseche God longe to contynewe with honor. Yo^{r} L. Castell of Kennelworth the xxth of November earlye. 1578. Yo^{r} L. most bownde servant "Henry Besbeche."

"To the right honorable my
singular good L. and Mr
th' Erle of Leycester"

1579, March 22nd. The same to Mr. Beynham, the Earl of Leicester's Auditor.

[Mr. Besbeche, through the machinations of Mr. Dockwray and Mr. Edmunds, is about to be dismissed from his place.]

"Mr. Beynham. I marvaile whye you wryte to me for my frendshipp in seasoned tymber for yor building, when you y^{or} selfe knewe that my kingdom ys overthrowne. I towlde you at my last being with my L. that I fownde by my L. that there were divers practises in hand to overthrowe my credit I was verye well contented therwith and so you and all the worlde shall se I will not be sorrye for the same and nowe I fynde by my L. lr̄es they have the conquest and I right willinglye yelde conquered but my L chardging me so hardly as yf I shoulde use right and apt termes I shoulde saye that perhapps that wch might offende, but I am to wrongfully chardgid with to moch dishonestye. A tyme ys for everye thing wch tyme shall trye H. Besbeche right honest and them as they ar, &c. I maye not saye as cause geveth. Let Mr. Dowkarye triumphe wth his conquest a while. S^{r}. John [Hubaud] and you may easelye withstande his mallice but we poore men of the contrey shall smart for yt as he saiethe. I for my part will do well enough, for yf he houlde on with his tryumphant words the next newes perhaps you here may be that he will be well and truly beaten: and then every man's honesty therby maye be tryed in the common Haule at Warwik. otherwise I see iniquytye will have the upper hande: for yf my L. will comaunde men to syfte owt the truthe of unjust dealing, and will deliver the offender, and aucthorize him then the more, my L. castell shall be carred away before I stir my foot. of the other syde Mr. Edmunds hathe receaved lr̄es and because they shall not be consealed they have alreadye bene shewed and red in every alehouse in Warwick and pubblysshed through owt the sheere. Thus Mr Dowkarye and Wm. Edmunds rule the rost nowe and waulke to gether in suche pontyfycaule sort as you woulde laughe to se them: they have bene at Kennelworth castell together and there have taken order for every thing and vewed the grownds and abbaye parke and taken a note of all the cattell they have fownde and done many wonders, and wonderouse works will doe. And I am not made aquainted with any thing. My Lo. wrat to me to advertise him howe the fyre came into the

castell, and more then I wrat to you I know not nor cannot learn but by all likeliode yt came by a lyttle negligence of moris, wch yf yt did was verye strange and almost against reason: but under xx^s^. will repayre all that was don, yf we might get but halfe a lode of tymber. You rested dowtfull of H. Sarpsforde's death; flatlye and playnelye he was most abhomynablye murderid, but yf there were any search therin yt woulde be wrapt upp, as others matters ar and therfore let god for me deale therin I fynde by my L. that my dischardge wil be shortly wch yf you come downe before Whitsontyde I will staye the delyvering upp of my accompt, yf not at Whitsontyde I will come upp and bring upp my accompt and make even with my L. but yf yt were soner I showlde be moche gladder, and when I deale in any cause agayne I wil be fyrst torne in peces. And so fare you well, and let spite and envye work his worst.

"Kennelworthe, y^e^ xxij^th^ of Marche 1579

"yo^rs^ to use HENRY BESBECHE"

"To the worshipfull M^r^. W^m^
Beynham Esquire"

1580, March 28th. THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[About a brewer having come down to Kenilworth for hops.]

". . . . I received a l$\overline{re}$ from you that Wm Edmunds warranted you to sell suche hoppes as might be spared: he both denyeth it, and also refuseyth to sell: and since your going away hath not holpen a chapman: but some mennes woords is better husbandrye then others good doings. I am glad to se my credit increase so fast that am not sufficient to waye a few hopps without Wm Edmunds. Well, I fynde daylye and owrely my Lord's woords trewer and trewer I hope shortlye I shall have ease. My Lord hath so conceived of me by some folks good means as I am an arrant knave. I trust I shall come to the triall and then I knowe what I have to saye. My L. hathe willed me to sende you all my books of the receipt of plate to Kennelworth from tyme to tyme and that I shall have them safe delyverid me agayne saving that wh. is noted in the margent geven and lost, and that which now remaynithe, as a paper therof apparithe Kennelworth the 28th of Marche 1580

"Yo^rs^ not able to be a frende H. BESBECHE"

"To the wourshipfull Mr Willm
Beynham esquire."

XXVI.—1578, December 12th. THOMAS SMYTHE (called "CUSTOMER SMYTHE" as Farmer of the Customs) TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

[Customer Smythe was owner of Corsham and built, in 1582, the oldest part now remaining of Corsham Court. He removed to

Westenhanger, in Kent, leaving Corsham to his son Henry. See "Wiltshire Collections, Aubrey and Jackson," p. 79.]

"I have receaved yor honors $\overline{\text{lre}}$, perceavinge therby that yor. Lordshippe hath bought of Alexander Vancore of the nomber of £^{c}ij ^{xx}iiij xiiij [294] Pearle to the price of xxvj^{s} the peece, wch. amounteth to £^{c}iij ^{xx}iiij ij iiij^{s} [£382 4*s*.] Y^{r} L. $\overline{\text{lre}}$ doth specefie but of £^{c}iij ^{xx}iiij j. so that by this Reckoninge the account is cast to short by j^{li}. iiij^{s}. [£1 4*s*.], w^{che} yt maye please you allowe or desalowe of, accordinge to yor L. $\overline{\text{lre}}$ I ame content to geve my Bond havinge yor honors counterbond for my indempnitye. Whereas I gave creditt by yor honors $\overline{\text{lre}}$, and M^{r}. Seacretarye Walsinghams unto Mr. Dee for one hundred pounds to be paid hime at Hambrogh wch. monye he hath there receaved, and delivered a Bill on me for the same, to be paid here the xvth of this moneth, prayinge yor. L. to move Mr. Seacretarye, that order maye be taken for the awnsweringe of the same. I have demaunded of Mr. Peter for the custome of the Pearle, and he sheweth me that theie were sent for by your honors order, and therfore youe must paye for them Custome of them. Thus the Holy ghoste preserve yor honors long life and good healthe. London the xijth of December An^{o}. 1578

"yours honner's ever Redy at comaundment
"THOMAS SMYTHE"

"To the right honorable
my singular good Lord
the Earle of Leicester.
Yeve these."

XXVII.—1580, February 18th. LETTICE KNOLLYS, COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

[Lettice Knollys, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G., of Rotherfield Grey, Co. Essex, married, first, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and by him was the mother of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, the unfortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth. After Leicester's separation from his second wife—Lady Sheffield—he married Lettice, then Countess Dowager of Essex. After Leicester's death, in 1588, she married, thirdly, Sir Christopher Blunt, who was beheaded in 1601 for having been concerned in her son Robert's rebellion. No lady was ever more involved in family dishonours and troubles, the history of which is so full of contradictory statements that it is almost now hopeless to arrive at the truth. Leicester's enemies said that as he had poisoned her

first husband, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, so, she had "served Leicester in his own kind" by poisoning him. It is almost beyond belief that she could have done so, and afterwards have inscribed upon his monument in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, such words as are there still to be seen: "optimo et charissimo marito *mæstissima Leticia.*" She lived to the great age of ninety-four: and saw, says Dr. Plot (Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 328), the grand-children of her grand-children. Dying at Drayton, near Tamworth, "upon Christmas Day, in the morning, in 1634," she was buried in the same Chapel as the Earl of Leicester: where an old wooden tablet exhibits a long eulogy of her in verse written by "Gervas Clifton." [1]

Two letters are subjoined, written to her by her son, Robert Devereux, the unfortunate second Earl of Essex, about her jointure, and occupation of Wanstead House. Letters from this nobleman are of the greatest rarity. These are in a tone of great courtesy and affection.]

1580, February 18th. Deposition by Humphry Tyndall,[2] the Officiating Chaplain, as to the Secret Marriage of Lettice Knollys, Countess Dowager of Essex, with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at Wanstead House,[3] on Sunday, 21st September, 1578.

[Camden (Hist. of Queen Elizabeth, p. 217,) has a passage which throws a little light upon the "Deposition of Tyndall, the

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[1] This was the polygamous Sir Gervase Clifton, of Clifton, Co. Notts, who was remarkable for having married seven wives: the first being Penelope Rich, grand-daughter of Lettice Knollys.

[2] This document is signed, in the chaplain's own autograph, "Umphry Tendall." Fourteen years afterwards, in 1603, there was a "Umphrey Tyndall, Doctor in Divinity, Master of the Quene's College in Cambridge, and Vice Chancellor." (Proc. of Soc. of Antiq., vi. 517.)

[3] Wanstead belonged to Robert Dudley. A fine folio inventory of the furniture there, is among the Marquis of Bath's MSS. The house of Dudley's time disappeared in or before 1715, when Sir Richard Child built another, the fine one taken down in 1822.

Chaplain : "—" Leicester had been suspected of causing the death of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, by poison. The suspicion was increased by Leicester's presently putting away Douglas Sheffield with money and fair promises (whether his paramour or his wife I cannot say) on whom he had begotten a son, and now more openly making love to Lettice, Essex his widow, to whom afterwards he joyned himself in a double matrimony. For though it were reported that he had already privately married her; yet Sir Frances Knolles father to Lettice, who was acquainted with Leicester's Rambling and inconstance in his Love, would not believe it (fearing lest he should put a Trick upon his daughter) unless he might see the Marriage performed in his own presence, with some witnesses by, and a public Notary."]

"Saturday 18th Feb. 1580. Humfry Tindall, clerk, Bachelor in Sacred Theology, 34 years of age or thereabouts, of free condition, &c., being produced and sworn, &c., saith. That uppon a Saterday being as this deponent now remembereth the xxth day of September in the yeare of our Lorde 1578, The right honourable Robert Dudley Earle of Leycester, brake with this deponent (being then attendant uppon him at Wanstede nere London as his chappelin) to the effect following, viz., he signified that he had a good seazon forborne marriadge in respect of her majestie's displeasure, and that he was then for sondrie respects and especially for the better quieting of his own conscience determined to marry with the Right Honourable Countesse of Essex, but for so much as it might not not be publiquely knowe without great damages of his estate, he moved this deponent to solemnnize a marriadge in secret betweene them, and finding this deponent willing thereunto, he appointed him to attende for the dispatch thereof the next morninge about vij of the clocke, wch this deponent did accordingly, and theruppon (betwixt seaven and eight of the clock on the next morning being sonday) was conveyed up by the Lorde North into a little gallery of Waynstede howse opening uppon the garden, into wh^{h} gallery their camme within a while after together with the aforesayd Earle of Leycester the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembrook, the Earle of Warwick,* and Sir Frances Knowlles, and within a little while after them the Countesse of Essex herself attired as he now remembereth in a loose gowne. And then and ther he this deponent did with the free consente of them both marry the said R^{t}. hon. Robert Dudley earle of Leycester and the Lady Letice Countesse of Essex together in such maner and forme as is prescribed by the communion booke, and did pronounce them lawfull man and wife before God and the worlde according to the usuall order at solemnization of marriadges : and farther this deponent sayeth, that he well remembreth S^{r}. Francis Knowlles did

* Robert Rich, third baron, afterwards created Earl of Warwick, was son-in-law of Lettice Knollys; having married Penelope Devereux, her daughter by her first husband, Walter, Earl of Essex.

at that time give the sayd Lady Letice for wife unto the sayd Earle of Leycester, at the solemnizing of wch mariadge as he sayeth were then and ther present and sawe and hearde the same, beside the parties married and this deponent, the R^t^. Hon. the Earle of Penbrook, the Earle of Warwick, the Lord Northe, S^r^. Francis Knowlles, and one Mr. Richard Knowlles as he remembreth, and no more. And otherwise he cannot depose, saving that he this deponent was at y^t^ time full minister and had bin ordered by the Rev. father in God the L. Bishop of Peterborough in A^o^. 1572: for profe whereof he exhibited at the time of his examination his letters of orders under the authenticall seales of the sayd Bushop, the tenor whereof ensueth, &c. 'Tenore presentium, &c.'

"UMPHRY TENDALL"

1589, March 7th.—COUNTESS OF LEICESTER, (widow of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester) TO LORD TREASURER BURLEIGH, ABOUT HER HUSBAND'S DEBT TO THE QUEEN.

"My very good Lord. I receved of late from Mr. Fanshawe and Mr. Baynhame, a book or charge (as thay tearme it) of my late lord's debts unto hur magestye, wherin allthoughe thay offer to charge me with very manye thousands (I mene mor then xx) contrarye as I am parswaded to sum of ther knowledges or concyences, yet I fynd not that cours so strange as that they would alowe me but sume v or vi dayes ether to cleare or confes that imposed charge, and wher as thay havinge all possyble assystance from hur magestys offycers to thys ther rygoro searche and syftynge, have not bene able to fynyshe thys charge under at the least iij or iiij monethes worke, thay would inforce me being dysfavored therin to furnyshe my defence in lesse then vij days; wher-upon thynkinge my self very stranglye oppressed, I am dryven to appeale unto your honorable favoure, besechinge you to alowe me such competente tym therein as that my solycytors and sarvants may be able to parews and searche all such offyces books and accounts as shall be thought most fyte for manyfestynge of a truth in thys behaulfe; and becaus thys charge now layde on me doth in sum sort consarne sondrye other parsons wich were put in trust by my late L., my humble desyre is that by order from your lp. a commyssyone may be awarded out of the excheker (to sume such as your lp. shall thynk fytt) that by vertue thereof thay may caule before them and examyne all such parsons as were any ways accomptable unto my late lord or which ar uppone any caus to aunswer any thyng towards the dyscharge of hys debts, to the ende that all such sums as shall be founde dew in ther hands may be in dewe sort aunswered unto hur magyestye, wich if your lp. shall vouchsafe to doe and allso to move the marchants to whom Denbighe *

* Meaning the lordship of Denbigh, which had been granted along with Kenilworth and other manors to the Earl of Leicester, 9th June, 5 Eliz. He had mortgaged it. One of the "Debts" claimed from the deceased Earl of Leicester amounted to £3619. That was stated to be the amount drawn by him in excess of his allowance when Lieut.-General in the Low Countries. The answer upon this point made by his widow was that in the patent of his appointment he had been authorized to ask for any sums at his pleasure: and that he did but take £10 14*s.* a day after the precedent set by the Earl of Pembroke, Lieut.-General for Queen Mary at St. Quintin's. (From original document at Longleat.)

standeth ingaged in a lyne or toe [two] from your lp. that the overplus upon the sale therof wich shall excede ther debts may with ther good lykynge be imployed towards the aunswerynge of my lords debts accordyng to the tenore of hys testament. I shall not only acknowledge myself very much behouldynge unto your lp. but shall take such cours for the spedye satysfyinge of hur hyghnes debts as shall I trust very well content your good lp., and so desyrynge your honorable favoure in thes poynts, I humblye take my leve, praynge allways for the contenewance of your best health and happynes.

"Leycester hous. thys vij of Marche.

"Your lp. assured poor frend

"L. LEYCESTER*"

Addressed:

"To the ryght honorable and
my very good Lo. the Lo.
tresurer of Ingland."

On the back is written in a small hand:

"Marty. 1589.

"Countess of Leycest. to my L,
Prayes some longer tyme to make
aunswer to the booke of charge
offred by Mr. Bainham towching y^e^
Erl of Leycest^r^. debt to hir Matie

"Commission for examination of such
persons as were accomtable any wayes
to ye said Erle wherby ye said debt
may be ye better satisffied.

"That the marchaunts morgagers of
Denbighe may answer the
over-value thereof towardes the
payment of the said debt as the
Erl appointed by his will."

1590, March 27th.—ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX, TO HIS MOTHER, LETTICE, COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

"Madam. I have sent y^r^. ladyship a lre to my L: Chancelor w^h^. y^r^. ladyship when you have read yt may seale and please you and ether send by this berer or whom els you please. to resolve y^r^. ladyship that I will stand ffrme in this and in all other y^r^ causes I do send you here mine owne to be a witnes against me yf I do not. for y^r^ laps state w^h^ you say is uncertaine. I will defend y^r^ other titles wth all the witt creditt and frendes that I have. and for that w^h^ y^r^ lap hath of my land I will not refuse to confirme yt when y^r^ lap shall say you desire that ther may be so free dealing on both sides as kindnes may be deerer then any thing els. for Wansteed though I confesse I do greatly affect yt

* The Countess's handwriting is singularly neat and clear; her f, s, h, &c, being long: and the letter y being invariably dotted, as i is with us. Original letters written by this lady are extremely rare.

yet I will not desire yt so as y^{r} lap shall loose one penny profitt or one hower of pleasure that you may have ther. The Q. hath divers tymes within these 4 dayes asked me whether I had yt and I doubt not but to have her there ere May day yf my lease were made. If y^{r} lap thinke so good I will receave the conditions from any officer of yours for whatever you aske I will agree unto yt. The Q. hathe stayed me heere this day, but to morrow I will se y^{r} lap yf I can. An so I comend y^{r} lap to gods best protection. Grenwich this 27th of March 1590.

" Y^{r} sonne that will yeald
you all duty R. Essex "

" To my honorable mother
the countesse of Leycester."

1590, July 20th.—The Same to the Same.

" Madam. I see a disagreem^{t} betweene y^{r} ladyship's officers and mine for the drawing of the assurances betweene us. in some thinges I thought my officers to curious and therefore I yelded to y^{t} w^{h}. they wold not consent too. Now I must needes thinke y^{r} ladyship's officers do deale a great deale to partially for to aske 200£ allmost for a 150. If y^{r} ladyship will reforme this second error as I have done the former wee shall have a present agreement or els I see nott any end. and to breake of from the bargain I have made for the sale of Tollsbury [in Co. Essex] were great trouble for me and as much losse. I referr all to y^{r} laps best and kindest judgment: I pray y^{r} ladyship let this berer know y^{r} pleasure. And thatt w^{h} is done lett yt be done wth speede. And so I comende y^{r} lap to gods best protection

" Grenwich this 20th of July.

" y^{r} laps sonne that owes you
all duty R. Essex "

Seal: nine quarterings within garter.

" To my honorable mother
the Countesse of Leycester."

Docketted: "Julie
my Lo. of Essex. 1590."

[*To be Continued.*]

On the Habits of Ants.

By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S., M.P., D.C.L.,

Vice-Chancellor of the University of London.

(*Read before the Society at Warminster, 23rd August*, 1877.)

YOUR excellent secretary, Mr. Smith, has asked me to read a paper this evening on the habits of ants, and has further suggested that instead of occupying the time thus placed at my disposal wholly with the details of the observations which I have made since my last paper in the Linnean Journal, I should begin with some general remarks on the whole subject.

I have kept altogether nearly thirty species of ants in captivity; and have found little difficulty in preserving them in good health. One of my present nests I have had since the year 1874, and it is still in perfect vigour. As regards the longevity of individual ants, this nest still contains the same two queens as when I first took it.[1] They must therefore be at least four years old. Some of the workers too have probably lived as long. I have also several workers which I have kept under observation since 1875.

From my own observations I have been able to confirm to a great extent the remarkable statements made by previous observers with reference to these interesting insects. Nothing which has been said with reference to their architectural skill, their industry, their attention to their young, their remarkable organization, their possession of domestic animals, and even the institution of slavery, has been exaggerated. I have over and over again watched their behaviour to the aphides, which they keep as cows, and from which they derive no unimportant portion of their sustenance, visiting them amongst the herbage and following them even up to the summit of high trees; in other cases keeping them in their nests, and selecting a collecting species which feed upon the roots of grasses; nay, the ants keep these insects throughout the winter, in a torpid condition, though they

[1] This is still true, July, 1878.

are, for the time, useless: tending them nevertheless with the utmost care, and the most assiduous service, with a view to the return of spring when they will again become of use; thus affording an instance of prudence and forethought, unexampled I believe in the animal kingdom.

I have also had the opportunity of watching in my nests several of the other insects, &c., which live in association with ants. M. André, who has specially studied this part of the question, records, from his own observations and those of others, no less than 588 species which are thus found in association with ants, and the list will no doubt be very greatly increased. In some cases indeed the association is accidental, in others it arises from the fact that the ants' nests form a convenient place of retreat. In some cases the ants are perhaps unable to relieve themselves from undesirable companionship; but there still remain many in which these so-called "Myrmecophilous" (or "ant-loving") species are kept as we keep cows, and as the ants themselves keep aphides.

Nor are the relations of ants to one another less remarkable. The common horse ant (*F. rufa*) is said in some rare cases to live in association with other ants; generally with *F. fusca*. Such cases however are very exceptional; nor has any instance, so far as I know, yet been met with in this country. A nearly-allied species however, *F. sanguinea*, which occurs in some of our southern counties, is frequently, though not always, found associated with the same *F. fusca*. In these cases the nests really belong to the *F. sanguinea*. The queen is of that species, the young are of that species. The *F. fuscas*, though not subject to any restraint and free to come or go as they like, are still captives, having been carried off from their nests, while still pupæ, by the *F. sanguineas*. They have therefore not inappropriately been called slaves, although, so far as we can judge, they are quite reconciled to their position. They assist the *F. sanguinea* in all the household duties and in foraging for supplies of food. There is however another species (*Polyergus rufescens*) in which slavery is carried to a greater extreme. In this case the slave-making species takes no part whatever in the duties of the nest, in the care of the young or in the search for food; nay, as Huber first

observed, they have even lost the instinct of feeding, and will starve in the midst of plenty, unless they have a slave to put food actually into their mouth. I have repeated and confirmed Huber's remarkable experiments on this point, and have kept isolated specimens alive and in health for months, by allowing them a slave for an hour or two every day, or every other day, to feed and to clean them.

I confess however that I have not found the ants so ready to assist one another in trouble as they have been described by previous observers.

It has been said, for instance, that if ants are accidentally buried, their friends belonging to the same nest will come and dig them out. I do not doubt that the facts occurred as stated; but we must remember that ants have a habit of burrowing in loose fresh soil. I have therefore, with the view of testing the fact, repeatedly buried ants under about a quarter-of-an-inch of soil close to which I have placed honey, on which many of their friends have regaled themselves—but, though I have left them thus buried for hours together I have never seen their friends take any steps for their rescue. On the other hand I found that if I made ants intoxicated and placed them in the neighbourhood of the nest, their friends would carry them off home; while, on the contrary strangers similarly treated were not taken into the nest; showing, I think, that they can not only recognise their friends, but do so when these friends are not in a condition to make any communication or to give any recognised signal. Nay, not only do ants know all the other ants in the same nest but they even recollect them after a considerable interval of separation. I divided one of my nests of ants into two halves, which were kept quite apart, and then from time to time put an ant from one of these nests into the other. Now if a stranger from another nest is thus introduced she is invariably attacked and driven out, or sometimes killed. The old friends on the contrary were not molested. The difference of treatment was the more marked because the ants were marked with spots of paint, and the friends were soon cleaned by their old companions. I have given the commencement of this experiment in my Linnean Society's paper, and will now record the conclusion.

The nest was divided on the 4th August, 1875.

February 11th, 1877. I put in two friends from the other division at 10. I looked at 10.15, 10.30, 11, 11.30, 12, 2, 4, and 6, p.m. They were on every occasion quite at home among the others.

February 12. Put in three friends at 12. They were also quite at home. I looked at them at 12.30, 1, 2, 4, and 6. Only for a minute or two at first one appeared to be threatened.

February 13th. Ditto, ditto. The ant was put in at 9.15, a.m., and visited at 9.30, 10, 11, 12, and 1.

February 15th. Ditto, ditto. The ant was put in at 10.15, a.m., and visited at 10.30, 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

February 19th. Ditto, ditto. The ant was put in at 10, a.m., and visited at 10.15, 10.30, 11, 12, 1, and 2.

March 11th. Ditto, ditto, at 9.30, a.m., visited at 10.30, 12.30, 2.30, and 5.30.

March 12th. Ditto, ditto, at 10, a.m., visited at 12, 2, and 4.

March 18th. Put in two friends at 1, p.m., visited at 2 and 4.

April 21st. Put in one friend at 9.30. At 10 she was all right, also at 12 and 4.

April 22. Put in two friends at 8.30. Visited them at 9, and 10, when they were almost cleaned. After that I could not find them, but I looked at 2, 4, and 6, and must have seen if they were being attacked.

April 23rd. Put in two at 12.30. Visited them at 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6. They were not attacked.

May 13th. Put in two friends and a stranger at 7.45 and at 9 the two friends were with the rest. The stranger was in a corner by herself. 11, ditto. 12, ditto. 1, the friends all right; the stranger was being attacked. 2, the friends all right; the stranger has been killed and dragged out of the nest. The next morning I looked again, the two friends were all right.

May 14th. Put in the remaining three friends at 10. Visited them at 11, 12, 1, 2, 4, and 6. They were not attacked and seemed quite at home.

This completed the experiment, which had lasted from August

4th, 1875, till May 14th, 1877, when the last ones were restored to their friends.

Though the above experiment seemed to me conclusive, I thought it would be well to repeat it with another nest.

I therefore separated a nest of *Formica fusca* into two portions on the 20th October, 1876, and kept them entirely separate.

On the 25th February, 1877, at 8, a.m., I put an ant from the smaller lot back among her old companions. At 8.30 she was quite comfortably established among them. At 9, ditto. At 12, ditto, and at 4, ditto.

June 8th. I put two specimens from the smaller lot back, as before among their old friends. At 1, they were all right among the others. At 2, ditto. After this I could not distinguish them among the rest, but they were certainly not attacked.

June 9th. Put in two more at the same hour. Up to 3 in the afternoon they were neither of them attacked. On the contrary, two strangers from different nests, which I introduced at the same time, were both very soon attacked.

July 14th. I put in two more of the friends at 10.15. In a few minutes they joined the others and seemed quite at home. At 11, they were among the others; at 12, ditto; and at 1, ditto.

July 21st. At 10.15, I put in two more of the old friends. At 10.30, neither were being attacked. At 11, ditto. 12, ditto. 2, ditto. 4, ditto. 6, ditto.

October 7th. At 9.30, I put in two and watched them carefully till 1. They joined the other ants, and were not attacked. I also put in a stranger from another nest. Her behaviour was quite different. She kept away from the rest, running off at once in evident fear, and kept wandering about, seeking to escape. At 10.30, she got out. I put her back, but she soon escaped again. I then put in another stranger. She was almost immediately attacked. In the meantime the old friends were gradually cleaned. At 1.30, they could scarcely be distinguished. They seemed quite at home, while the stranger was being dragged about. After 2, I could no

longer distinguish the friends. They were however certainly not attacked. The stranger, on the contrary, was killed and brought out of the nest.

This case, therefore, entirely confirmed the preceding; while strangers were always attacked, friends were amicably received, even after a year of separation.

Thus therefore, in these experiments, as in those previously recorded, the old acquaintances were evidently recognised. This is clear, because they were never attacked, while any ant from a different nest, even of the same species, would be set on and killed, if she did not succeed in escaping from the nest. This recognition of old friends is the more remarkable, because, in one case, the ants had not seen each other for more than a year.

To test their intelligence I made the following experiment. I placed some honey suspended over the nest at a height of about half-an-inch, and accessible only by a paper bridge more than ten feet long. Under the glass I then placed a small heap of earth. The ants soon swarmed over the earth on to the glass and began feeding on the honey. I then removed a little of the earth, so that there was an interval of about one-third of an inch between the glass and the earth—but though the distance was so small they would not jump down, but preferred to go round by the long bridge. They tried in vain to stretch up from the earth to the glass, which however was just out of their reach, though they could even touch it with their antennæ; but it did not occur to them to heap the earth up a little, though if they had moved only half-a-dozen particles of earth they would have secured for themselves direct access to the food. This however never suggested itself to them. At length they gave up all attempt to reach up to the glass and went round by the paper bridge. I left the arrangement for several weeks, but they continued to go round by the long paper bridge.

It is remarkable that notwithstanding the labors of so many excellent observers, and though ants' nests swarm in every field and every wood, we do not yet know how their nests commence.

Three principal modes have been suggested:—After the marriage flight the young queen may either

1. Join her own or some other old nest;
2. Associate herself with a certain number of workers and with their assistance commence a new nest; or
3. Found a new nest by herself.

The question can, of course, only be settled by observation, and the experiments made to determine it have hitherto been indecisive. Blanchard indeed, in his work on the Metamorphoses of Insects (I quote from Dr. Duncan's translation p. 205) says, "Huber observed a solitary female go down into a small underground hole, take off her own wings, and become, as it were, a worker; then she constructed a small nest, laid a few eggs, and brought up the larvæ by acting as mother and nurse at the same time."

This however is not a correct version of what Huber says. His words are: "I enclosed several females in a nest full of light humid earth, with which they constructed lodges, where they resided; some singly, others in common. They laid their eggs and took great care of them; and notwithstanding the inconvenience of not being able to vary the temperature of their habitation, they reared some, which became larvæ of a tolerable size, but which soon perished from the effect of my own negligence."

It will be observed that it was the eggs—not the larvæ—which, according to Huber, these isolated females reared. It is true that he attributes the early and uniform death of the larvæ to his own negligence; but the fact remains that in none of his observations did an isolated female bring her offspring to maturity. Other entomologists, especially Forel and Ebrard, have repeated the same observations with similar results; and as yet in no single case has an isolated female been known to bring her young to maturity. Forel even thought himself justified in concluding from his observations, and those of Ebrard, that such a fact could not occur.

Lepeletier de St. Fargeau[1] was of opinon that ants' nests originate in the second mode indicated above, and it is indeed far from improbable that this may occur. No clear case has, however, yet been observed.

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[1] Hist. Nat. des Ins. Hyménoptères, vi., p. 143.

Under these circumstances, I made various experiments in order if possible to solve the question. For instance, I took an old fertile queen from a nest of *Lasius flavus*, and put her to another nest of the same species. The workers became very excited and killed her.

I repeated the experiment, with the same result, more than once.

I concluded then, that, at any rate in the case of *Lasius flavus*, the workers will not adopt an old queen from another nest.

The following however shews that whether or not ants' nests sometimes originate in the two former modes or not, at any rate in some cases, isolated queen ants are capable of giving origin to a new community. On the 14th August, 1876, I isolated two pairs of *Myrmica ruginodis* which I found flying in my garden. I placed them with damp earth, food, and water, and they continued perfectly healthy through the winter. In April, however, one of the males died, and the second in the middle of May. The first eggs were laid between the 12th and 23rd April. They began to hatch the first week in June, and the first turned into a chrysalis on the 27th; a second on the 30th; a third on the 1st of July, when there were also seven larvæ and two eggs. On the 8th there was another egg. On the 8th July a fourth larva had turned into a pupa. On the 11th July I found there were six eggs, and on the 14th, about ten. On the 15th one of the pupæ began to turn brown; and the eggs were about fifteen in number. On the 15th a second pupa began to turn brown. On the 21st a fifth larva had turned into a pupa, and there were about twenty eggs. On the 22nd July the first worker emerged, and a sixth larva had changed. On the 25th I observed the young worker carrying the larvæ about when I looked into the nest. A second worker was coming out. On July 28th a third worker emerged, and a fourth on the 5th August. The eggs appeared less numerous, some having probably been devoured.

This experiment shows that the queens of *Myrmica ruginodis* have the instinct of bringing up larvæ and the power of founding communities.

The workers remained about six weeks in the egg, a month in the state of larva, and 25—27 days as pupæ.

To determine if possible whether the ants have the power of

sending their friends to the honey, I have made a number of experiments, to one only of which I will now refer. I put an ant belonging to one of my nests to some food ; she partook of it and then returned to the nest, where no doubt she distributed it to her friends and to the larvæ. Having done so, she came out again as usual for more, accompanied by no less than ten friends. I did not however allow her to walk to the food, but took her up on a slip of paper and carried her to it. The friends wandered about a little, but by degrees returned to the nest, and not one of them found the food. This I repeated thirty-nine times with a similar result. The other experiments which I have made all point in the same direction, and I have not been able to satisfy myself that ants possess any power of description, or of sending their friends to a store they have discovered. I believe therefore that when large numbers of ants come to food, they follow one another, being also to a considerable extent guided by scent.

Some species however act much more in association than others. *Formica fusca*, for instance much less than *Lasius niger*.

To ascertain if possible whether ants have the power of summoning one another by sound, I tried the following experiments. I put out on the board where one of my nests of *Lasius flavus* was usually fed, six small pillars of wood about an inch-and-a-half high, and on one of them I put some honey. A number of ants were wandering about on the board itself in search of food, and the nest itself was immediately above and about 12 inches from the board. I then put three ants to the honey, and when each had sufficiently fed I imprisoned her and put another ; thus always keeping three ants at the honey, but not allowing them to go home. If then they could summon their friends by sound, there ought soon to be many ants at the honey. The results were as follows :

September 8th. Began at 11, a.m. Up to 3 o'clock only seven ants found their way to the honey, while about as many ran up the other pillars. The arrival of these seven, therefore, was not more than would naturally result from the numbers running about close by. At 3 we allowed the ants then on the honey to return home. The result was that from 3.6,

when the first went home, to 3.30, eleven came; from 3.30 to 4, no less than forty-three. Thus in four hours only seven came, while it was obvious that many would have wished to come if they had known about the honey, because in the next three-quarters-of-an-hour, when they were informed of it, fifty-four came.

On the 10th September we tried the same again, keeping as before three ants on the honey, but not allowing any to go home. From 12 to 5.30, only eight came. They were then allowed to take the news. From 5.30 to 6, four came; from 6 to 6.30, four; from 6.30 to 7, eight; from 7.30 to 8, no less than fifty-one.

On the 23rd September we did the same again, beginning at 11.15. Up to 3.45 nine came. They were then allowed to go home. From 4 to 4.30 nine came; from 4.30 to 5, fifteen; from 5 to 5.30, nineteen; from 5.30 to 6, thirty-eight. Thus in three-and-a-half hours nine came; in two, when the ants were permitted to return, eighty-one.

Again, on September 30th I tried the same arrangement, again beginning at 11. Up to 3.30 seven ants came. We then let them go. From 3.30 to 4.30 twenty-eight came. From 4.30 to 5, fifty-one came. Thus in four hours and a-half only seven came; while when they were allowed to return no less than seventy-nine came in an hour and a-half. It seems obvious therefore that in these cases no communication was transmitted by sound.

To test the affections of ants, belonging to the same nest, for one another, I tried the following experiments. I took six ants from a nest of *Formica fusca*, imprisoned them in a small bottle, one end of which was left open, but covered by a layer of muslin. I then put the bottle close to the door of the nest. The muslin was of open texture, the meshes however sufficiently large to prevent the ants from escaping. They could not only see one another, but communicate freely with their antennæ. We now watched to see whether the prisoners would be tended or fed by their friends, but we could not see that the least notice was taken of them. The experiment

however was less conclusive than could be wished, because the prisoners might have been fed at night, or at a time when we were not looking. It struck me therefore that it would be interesting to treat some strangers also in the same manner. On September 2nd therefore I put two specimens of *P. fusca* into a bottle, the end of which was tied up with muslin as described, and laid it down close to the nest from which they had been taken. In a second bottle I put two ants from another nest of the same species. The ants which were at liberty took no notice of the bottle containing their imprisoned friends. The strangers in the bottle, on the contrary, excited them considerably. The whole day one, two, or more, stood sentry as it were, over the bottle. In the evening no less than twelve were collected round it—a larger number than usually came out at once. The whole of the next two days in the same way there were more or less ants round the bottle containing the strangers; while as far as we could see no notice whatever was taken of the friends. On the 9th, the ants had eaten through the muslin and effected an entrance. We did not chance to be on the spot at the moment, but as I found two ants lying dead, one in the bottle and one just outside, I think there can be no doubt that the strangers were attacked. The friends throughout were quite neglected.

September 21st. I then repeated the experiment, putting three ants from another nest in a bottle as before. The same scene was repeated. The friends were neglected. On the other hand some of the ants were always watching over the bottle containing the strangers, and biting at the muslin which enclosed them.

September 24th. I repeated the same experiment with the same nest. Again the ants came and sat over the bottle containing the strangers, while no notice was taken of the friends. The next morning again, when I got up, I found five ants round the bottle containing the strangers, none near the friends. All day the ants clustered round the bottle and bit savagely, though not systematically, at the muslin. The same thing happened all the following day.

These observations seemed to me sufficiently to test the behaviour

of the ants belonging to this nest, under these circumstances. It seemed desirable however to try also other communities. I selected therefore two other nests. One was a community of *Polyergus rufescens*, in which the majority of the slaves were *Formica fusca*. Close to where the ants of this nest came to feed, I placed, as before, two small bottles, closed in the same way: one containing two slave ants from the nest; the other two strangers. These ants however behaved quite unlike the preceding, for they took no notice of either bottle, and showed no sign either of affection or hatred. One is almost tempted to surmise that the warlike spirit of these ants was broken by slavery.

The other nest which I tried—also a community of *Formica fusca*—behaved exactly like the first. They took no notice of the bottle containing the friends, but clustered round and endeavoured to force their way into that containing the strangers.

It seems therefore that in these curious insects hatred is a stronger passion than affection.

From the observations of Sprengel there could of course be little, if any, doubt that bees are capable of distinguishing colors; but I have in my previous papers, read before the Linnean Society, recorded some experiments which put the matter beyond a doubt. Under these circumstances, I have been naturally anxious to ascertain if possible whether the same is the case with ants. I have however experienced more difficulty in doing so, because ants find their food so much more by smell than by sight.

I tried, for instance, placing some food at the bottom of a pillar of colored paper, and then moving both the pillar and the food. The pillar however did not seem to help the ant at all to find her way to the food. I then placed the food on the top of a rod of wood 8 inches high, and when the ant knew her way perfectly well to the food, so that she went quite straight backwards and forwards to the nest, I found that if I moved the pillar of wood only 6 inches, the ant was quite bewildered, and wandered about, backwards and forwards, round and round, and at last only found the pillar as it were accidentally, though the board on which the pillar was placed was only 18 inches by 12, and the pillar was 8 inches high. Comparing

this with the human standard, it is as if a man had a difficulty in finding a pillar 250 feet high—higher, that is to say, than the Duke of York's column—in a space of less than an acre.

Under these circumstances, I could not apply to ants those tests which had been used in the case of bees. At length however, it occurred to me that I might utilise the dislike which ants, when in their nests, have to light. Of course they have no such feeling when they are out in search of food, but if light is let in upon their nests, they at once hurry about in search of the darkest corners, and there they all congregate. If, for instance, I uncovered one of my nests, and then placed an opaque substance over one portion, the ants invariably collected in the shaded part.

I procured therefore four similar strips of glass, coloured respectively green, yellow, red, and blue—or, rather, violet. The yellow was rather paler in shade, and that glass consequently rather more transparent than the green, which again was rather more transparent than the red or blue. I then laid the slips of glass on one of my nests of *Formica fusca*, containing about one hundred and seventy ants. These ants, so I knew by previous observations, seek darkness, and would certainly collect under any opaque substance. I then, after counting the ants under each slip, transposed the colors at intervals of about half-an hour, so that each should by turns cover the same portion of the nest.

The results were as follows, the numbers indicating the approximate numbers of ants under each glass, as there were sometimes a few not under any of the strips of glass.

Altogether there were, in twelve observations, under the red, eight hundred and ninety ants; under the green, five hundred and forty-four; under the yellow, four hundred and ninety-five; and under the violet only five. The difference between the red and the green is very striking: and would doubtless have been more so, but for the fact that when the colors were transposed, some of the ants which had collected under the red, sometimes remained where they were. Again, the difference between the green and yellow would have been still more marked, but for the fact that the yellow always occupied the position last held by the red, while on the other hand

the green had an advantage, in coming next the violet. In considering the difference between the yellow and green, we must remember also that the green was decidedly more opaque than the yellow.

The case of the violet glass is more marked and more interesting. To our eyes the violet was as opaque as the red, more so than the green, and much more so than the yellow. Yet, as the numbers show, the ants had no tendency whatever to congregate under it. There were in fact quite as many under the same area of the uncovered portion of the nest as under that shaded by the violet glass.

It is obvious that these facts suggest a number of interesting inferences. I must however repeat the observations and make others, but we may at least I think conclude from the preceeding that ants have the power of distinguishing colors, and that they are very sensitive to violet, It would also seem that their sensations of color must be very different from those produced upon us.

An Early Vernacular Service.

By the Rev. H. T. Kingdon.

(*Read before the Society at Warminster, 22nd August,* 1877.)

ANYTHING which helps to throw light upon the great movement which resulted in the Reformation of the Church of England cannot fail to be of interest. It is only in consequence of this persuasion that I venture to offer a few remarks upon a short service which I found some years ago in a fine manuscript portfory, or breviary of Sarum use, in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of this diocese. Much is now known about the stirrings of heart which led to the Reformation, but there is, without doubt, much

more to be discovered, and each man should place on record the little he can discover in his own neighbourhood, leaving it for the historian to work up the material into his more comprehensive scheme. Warminster lies between the present resting-place of the manuscript of which I am about to speak and its former abode; between the Church where it is at present in honourable retirement and the Church where it was in daily use some four hundred years ago, so that it may not be considered out of place to speak of the service at this meeting of the Society.

It is perfectly well-known that the amendment of the English services was in progress at the commencement of the sixteenth century,[1] before that time we know but little on the subject; but it is worthy of note that a majority of the manuscript office books of the English Church which have been preserved to our times date from the middle of the first half of the fifteenth century, as if even then there were a move in the direction of some alteration.

The demand for a service in the vernacular was becoming more and more heard: and this took its rise from those services said in the nave amongst the people. It would be interesting to inquire how far this arose from the people themselves, and how far from the clergy desiring to promote the worship of the people in spirit and in truth. But it would almost seem as if the cry came from the people themselves. "Why do we have services among us in a tongue we do not understand? Whatever language you feel called on to use in the chancel, let us at least have in the vulgar tongue what you say in our very midst." Some things there had been periodically recited in the nave in the vulgar tongue. The creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments were from time to time read out from the pulpit. Then again there was the greater excommunication read out four times a year, there was the bidding the bedes, and so on; besides an occasional sermon. These are all represented in the Book of Common Prayer: but there was a tendency

[1] "As early as the year 1516 we discern the first indication of a steady design and endeavour, never afterwards abandoned, of amending the existing condition of the ancient English service books." Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, Introduction to part ii., section x., p. 102.

to increase not only the number of the services but their length. The "greater excommunication" has been expanded into the commination service, which, like its predecessor, was to be read in public at least four times a year.[1] Since all the services have been translated the bidding the bedes is naturally shortened into the bidding prayer in the canon. But there was such a tendency to prolong the sermon beyond the orthodox hour that even the Dean and Chapter of the King's Church of Our Lady of Sarum painted up a good-humoured protest on the pillar over the pulpit as a reminder to the preacher before he commenced: W NOT ON HOVR.

As the demand for vernacular services became more and more felt, a commencement was made from this point of departure, viz.: the service in the nave. What was specially for, and amongst, the people, was to be in the people's tongue. Hence no doubt it was that the first book of services and which we know to have been translated into English was the *Processionale*,[2] a book of litanies and other devotions to be sung in procession. "It is thought convenient in this *common prayer* of procession to have it set forth and used in the vulgar tongue for the stirring the people to more devotion:" so ran the introduction to the prayer of the litany and suffrages put forth in 1544, when the land was at war with Scotland and France.[3]

But a little less than a hundred years before this, there was written on a spare leaf of a Sarum breviary a short service in the vernacular, set to musical notation, and therefore manifestly intended for public use. It is an *Aspersio*, or sprinkling of holy Water, a service said in procession in the nave.[4] It is no vulgar or rapid

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[1] See Cranmer Letters, *Parker Society*, p. 281, and note. Lyndewode, Lib. v., Tit. 17, p. 355, Oxford, 1679. Also Ritual Commissioners' Report, vol. ii., p. 407, 418, &c.

[2] See Cranmer Letters, *Parker Society*, letter cclxxvi., p. 412.

[3] See appendix to "Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth," *Parker Society*.

[4] There were two forms of *Aspersio* in use in England, as in some parts abroad. The common form was the antiphon, "Thou shalt purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, Thou shalt wash me and I shall be whiter than snow," with the first verse of the *miserere* (the 51st) psalm. During Eastertide this was varied:

scribble, but a beautiful piece of manuscript, carefully and elaborately written by an accomplished scribe. It is no hasty jotting down of a transitory ejaculation, such as we often find, but the deliberate penning of a beautifully-weighed phrasing. This *Aspersio*—like others—has an antiphon and the first verse of the *Miserere* psalm, with the Gloria. But there is this notable difference, that whereas the *Antiphon* otherwise was a text of Scripture with reference to the sprinkling, in the present instance it is in the form of an address to the worshippers, drawing their attention to the meaning and teaching of the service. Before the commencement of the most solemn service of the Church, when the congregation was assembled, the priest went round to remind the people of their entrance into the Church by baptism, and of their consequent obligation to live a godly life according to their promise; otherwise they had no right to be there. I must not allow myself to be drawn into a disquisition upon the interesting and edifying ceremonies connected with holy water, which were at an early period adopted into the Church. I will confine myself to the service in question.

The service is as follows: first the antiphon runs thus:—

> "Remember your promys made yn baptym.
> And chrystys mercyfull bloudshedyng.
> By the wyche most holy sprynklyng.
> Of all youre syns youe have fre perdun."

There is a great amount of teaching in this antiphon which cannot, and I hope need not, be here spoken of. Observe the use of capital letters to mark the various lines of rhythm. It will be within the recollection of most of those present that in the prayers which are to be repeated by the congregation after the minister, the pauses for repetition are marked off by capital letters. Then there follows the verse of *Miserere* psalm:—

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the antiphon then became "I saw water issuing from the Temple on the right side. Hallelujah. And all to whom that water came were made whole. Hallelujah. Hallelujah. Hallelujah;" with the first verse of the 106th psalm, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is gracious, for His mercy endureth for ever."

"Have mercy uppon me oo god.
After thy grat mercy.
Remember, etc. [*i.e., antiphon repeated.*]
And acordyng to the multitude of the mercys.
Do awey my wyckydnes.
Remember, etcet.
Glory be to the father and to the sun. and to the holy goost.
As hyt was yn the begynning so now and ever and yn the world off worlds so be hytt.
By the wyche. [*i.e., last half of antiphon.*]"

Here it is natural to ask what grounds there are for giving so early a date to the manuscript in question, especially as on the authority of Foxe, Bishop Latimer is said to have given an antiphon almost precisely similar to be used in his diocese at the sprinkling of holy water. The words as given by Foxe are as follows:—

"Remember your promise in Baptism,
Christ, his mercy and bloodshedding
By whose most holy sprinkling
of all your sins you have free pardoning."

There is less rhythm about these words than in the MS. before you; and there is an attempt to make the second and fourth lines rhyme. This perhaps would show that the rhyming version is the later; and there is very strong evidence in the testimony of experts, which is that the manuscript at latest must date about the time that Bishop Latimer was born. It cannot be much later than 1470. First then I would say a few words on the date, and then try to account for the words having become known to Latimer.

The breviary, on a spare page of which it is written, is a magnificent volume. I was allowed, some ten or twelve years ago, to take the volume to the British Museum, in order to obtain the opinion of the authorities there on the date of the *aspersio* of which I am speaking. The learned were kind enough to produce all the MS. service books at the Museum of the same date, but none could compare with the Salisbury book. The pages are nearly 20 inches long by 14½ wide. There are two columns on each page (the print is about half the size of the original). The book is 5½ inches thick. The illuminated capitals are magnificent; but strangely

Remember youre ꝑmys made yn
baptym. And chrystys mercyfull bloud
shedyng. By the wyche most holy spryk
lyng. Off all youre syns youe haue fre
perdūt: Haue mercy uppō me o god.
Affter thy grat mercy: Remēber ⁊ c.
And a cordyng to the multytude of the
mercys: Do a wey my wyckydnes
Remēber. ⁊ cet: Glory be to the father
and to the sun. and to the holy goost.
As hyt was yn the begynnyng so now
and ever ⁊ yn the world off worlds
so be hytt. By the wyche

enough, that which we should expect to be the finest—the Easter illumination—is cut out of an older MS. and pasted in. The date of the book is easily fixed at the earlier part of the fifteenth century, not only by the dictum of experts, but by internal evidence. For first of all, in the kalendar the entry at December 4th is certainly later than the rest: which is learned from the following considerations. The red paint used is different from most of the red paint in the kalendar, as it has a gloss upon it.; again new lines have been here ruled to guide the writing; thirdly, the new lines are narrower than the old lines. But the entry is not much later, from the similarity of the writing: it was probably the same hand that wrote it. The entry in question is "Depositio Sti. Osmundi Epi. et Confessoris. ix lectionum." Now S. Osmund, to the great satisfaction of the diocese of Sarum, was canonized in 1456. The book therefore dates before that year. This is also seen in the Sanctorale, where the service for S. Osmund's Day is at the end out of its proper order, and is succeeded by the service for the Transfiguration, which was ordained to be commemorated in 1457. The date of the book itself is about 1440. In the middle, dividing as usual the Temporale from the Sanctorale, comes the kalendar. This naturally begins on the right-hand page, and the preceding left-hand page is blank, as it was to spare. In the first column of this page the *aspersio* has been written. The MS. has been shown to many authorities, including the most renowned at London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham: and they are pretty well agreed that the date is about 1470[1]; it cannot be later than 1490, nor earlier than 1450. If this be right, it was written about the year in which Bishop Latimer was born: he therefore could not be the author. I may mention that when I was in the British Museum with the MS., a Roman Catholic priest was present, who was very

[1] Mr. Maskell (*Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. i., p. cciii.) has printed the aspersio with the following remark: "On a blank leaf of a most magnificent MS. breviary ad usum Sarum upon vellum in the library of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury is the following. It is noted; and the doxology is the earliest I remember to have seen in English with the notation. The writing is later than the rest of the volume, being about 1470."

angry indeed at the suggestion of so early a date. He said it was impossible. I mentioned this afterwards to a Jesuit priest, who naively remarked, "It is not wise to be positive, as you may be proved to be wrong."

I claim then for this service that it is earlier than the time of Bishop Latimer. How then was it brought to his knowledge?

From the book itself we can tell to what Church it belonged. In the kalendar there is a contemporaneous note written cursively in the margin opposite August 2nd: "Obitus Dni Walteri Longney olim Vicarii de Erlingham, qui mortem passus est anno do. MCCCCCij°. quarto nonas Augusti. Is me (librum) cum gradali Ecclesiæ dedit ut annuatim celebretur suum anniversarium perpetuo." Again in the illuminated border at the commencement of vespers a bird is drawn holding a label in its beak with "Sir Walter Longney" written on it. I need not mention that *Sir* was formerly, as we find in Shakspeare,[1] the title of a priest. There would have been some authority for such of my brethren who lately indignantly declined to be called Reverend, to have adopted the ancient title *Sir*, instead of some less wise suggestions. Again, in the fine border at the beginning of the sanctorale, on a label at the bottom of the page, there is written "Orate pro animabus Walteri Retteforte et Johanne uxoris ejus.

From these data I would suggest that Walter Retteforte paid for the execution of the book, and presented it to his godson, Sir Walter Longney, Vicar of Arlingham, in Gloucestershire, who gave it to his Church of Arlingham.

I maintain that Latimer saw the MS. at Arlingham, and it might have been presented to his notice in two ways (i) before he was bishop, and (ii) after his consecration.

(i) If a straight line be drawn from Warminster to Arlingham, and it be bisected, the point of bisection falls, if my map be right, in the parish of West Kington. In A.D. 1529 (twenty-seven years

[1] Thus Viola, in *Twelfth Night*, act iii., sc. 4, says, "I am one that would rather go with Sir Priest, than Sir Knight." In the same play we have Sir Topaz; in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Sir Hugh; in *As You Like It*, Sir Oliver; in *Love's Labour Lost*, Sir Nathanael.

after the death of Sir Walter Longney) Hugh Latimer, well-known as an advocate of the new learning, was appointed by the king to the living of West Kington, and, contrary to the custom of the time and the wishes of the court, went himself to reside on his benefice. While he was here we are specially told by Foxe that "his diligence extended to all the country about." It may well have been that during this time he became acquainted with this interesting specimen of a vernacular service. But again after he was bishop it might have been brought to his notice.

(ii) Mr. Maskell, to whom the volume was lent by Bishop Denison, its former possessor, was inclined to think that the book had belonged to some large Church in the diocese of Worcester. He was led to this conclusion from the insertion of the local feast of S. Wulstan upon June 7th. Had he observed the note of the obit of Sir Walter Longney he would have found his conjecture confirmed, for at that time Arlingham was in the diocese of Worcester. Now Hugh Latimer was made Bishop of Worcester in 1535, so that again he was brought into some near connection with our vernacular service. What more natural that now being in a position of authority he should give his sanction to the service, and at the same time add a jingle to be used at the giving of the antidoron, or blessed bread? For as there was holy water to remind Christians of their baptism, so was there holy bread handed round during or after service as a reminder to the non-communicant of the blessed sacrament of the Eucharist.

Some years ago, when I first recognized the value and interest of this service, I communicated with some courteous correspondents connected with Arlingham. Only two points of interest bearing upon the subject of this paper could be elicited. The one may be thought to have some hidden reference to a lingering attachment to holy water, the other has no doubt some connection with the former owner of the manuscript.

First, there was prevalent in Arlingham a few years ago a persuasion that the consecrated water in the font in which a child had been baptized was an infallible cure for the toothache. Next, the Vicar of Arlingham informed me that there were children of a

Walter Longney baptized in Arlingham Church about the year 1550. (the registers commence in 1539). This seems to show that the former owner of the book, who gave it to the Church which he served, was so far in favour of the Reformation as to be a married man and to have a son, or at least a grandson, of his own name, settled in the parish where he was Vicar.

It would be interesting to know how this splendid book was preserved to our own times when so much has been destroyed. But all that I can learn about it is that it was presented to Bishop Denison, who bequeathed it—a most precious legacy—to the Dean and Chapter, who no doubt value it as it deserves. There has been an attempt to evangelize the book after a fashion by a poor endeavour to change the hymn *Salve Regina* into a psalm of praise of our Blessed Lord, but this would not be enough to save it from destruction.

So early as 1409 the Bishop of Salisbury presented a memorial to the Council of Pisa, complaining that many of the clergy of England were thrust upon a people whose tongue they did not understand. The Italian court regarded England as a sponge that would bear squeezing. At the time of the appointment of Bishop Jewel the Dean of Sarum was an Italian, living at Rome. The Dean and dignitaries of the Cathedral had been in the habit of living abroad, and spending the money of the Cathedral abroad, so that the wail of neglected work, and of the campanale falling in ruin, followed them. Such cases as these hastened on the desire for reformation : and the people of England determined to have a clergy of their own people, living among them, speaking their own language. They therefore cut off all non-residents and foreigners. They also determined to have, if possible, the services in a language they could understand, and I venture to submit that the manuscript which I have brought to your notice is the earliest known evidence of this determination being carried out into practice.

A Biographical Notice of Samuel Brewer, the Botanist.

A.D. 1670.

By Thomas Bruges Flower, F.R.C.S., F.L.S., &c.

AMONG the names of the earlier botanists of Wiltshire that of Samuel Brewer might justly call for respectful notice in the pages of the Society's *Magazine*, more especially, as it affords an instance of that inconquerable attachment to a favorite branch of knowledge which sometimes engrosses the minds of those who by their lot have not been exempted from labouring in the lower and mechanical offices of life.

From information which I have been able to collect I am informed he was a native of Trowbridge, being born in the year 1670.[1] and had a small estate in the county. After an ordinary school education became engaged in the woollen manufactory of that town, where he proved very prosperous in business. Aubrey states[2] (temp. Jacobi II.), "Mr. Brewer of Trowbridge driveth the greatest trade for Medleys of any clothier in England." After continuing for some years in his trade he became unsuccessful, and devoted the remainder of his life to the study of natural history—more especially botany—to which he was ardently attached, and although confined to business during more than twelve hours of the day, yet contrived, by early rising, to cultivate a taste for his favorite pursuit. The town in which he lived furnished no persons of congenial pursuits, with whom he could associate, but this circumstance, though it limited his progress, did not damp his ardour, and consequently led

[1] The following entry occurs in the baptism registers, in the parish Church of Trowbridge: "Samuel, son of William and Abigail Brewer. *Baptized March 8th*, 1670."—*T.B.F.*

[2] Aubrey, Nat. Hist Wilts, p. 113.—*T.B.F.*

him to make frequent excursions in a morning, several miles from home; so he became well acquainted with the localites of the indigenous plants of the neighbourhood. His passion for English botany, his skill and assiduity in collecting, soon brought him into notice, and shortly afterwards Mr. Brewer made the acquaintance of the celebrated Dillenius, to whom he afforded great assistance, particularly in the subjects for his "History of Mosses," as in some instances he had done in the synopsis of the plants for Mendip and Cheddar. In the summer of 1726 he accompanied the Professor into Wales, Anglesea, and the Isle of Man. These excursions proved highly interesting, and being alluded to in the correspondence of Dillenius with Dr. Richardson, of Yorkshire, they may not, I think, prove unacceptable to our Wiltshire botanists by my quoting them fully in this paper:—

"Mr. Brewer and myself left Trowbridge the early part of July, and went to the Mendip Hills, where we could not find the *Muscus denticulatus* of Clausius,[1] mentioned by Lobel as growing there; but instead of it we saw the *Muscus lanuginosus alpinus*,[2] and a new mushroom, of the *Fungoides* kind, very tender, of a straw colour, and ending in sharp points, not branched.[3] These hills are of great extent, and at one end of them, near Cheddar, is a remarkable place, as well for its singularity as for the plants there growing. We saw there several Welsh plants, not known to grow in England, as *Papaver luteum perenne*;[4] *Sedum alpinum trifido folio*;[5] and several Welsh ferns; also a new *Lichen*,[6] with very delicate bright green leaves.

"From hence we walked to Brent Down, a peninsula not noticed by geographers, though as remarkable as any of the Holm's islands, over against which it lies. Here we found in plenty, on the top,

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[1] Or, rather, of Gerarde, *Lycopodium denticulatum*. *Linn, Sp. Pl.* 1569.

[2] *Trichostomum lanuginosum*. Fl. Brit., 1240. See *Dill. Musc.*, 372.

[3] Apparently *Clavaria fastigiata*. *Linn. Sp. Pl.* 1652. Figured by Dill. *in Raii Syn. t.* 24, *f.* 5.

[4] P. *cambricum*.

[5] *Saxifraga hypnoides*.

[6] This should be some *Marchantia*, *Jungermannia* or *Riccia*.

and about the middle of the hill, *Chamæcistus montanus polii folio* of Plukenet,[1] and an unknown grass, *Spica Sparti, foliis reflexis angustis glaucis striatis radice crassâ et fungosâ.* A little lower, *Lychnis maritima, Behen dicta, flore et folio majore,*[2] first observed, after the *Synopsis* was printed, by Mr. Brewer, and sent to Mr. Sherard's garden, where I believe you have seen it. The place mentioned for the *Polygonum maritimum longius radicatum,* &c., of Dr. Plukenet, is but two or three miles from hence, and we could not miss it, being of no great extent; but we searched in vain. Over against Brent Down, on a rocky hill, where Uphill Church stands, I gathered seeds of *Peucedanum minus,*[3] and sent a few by post to Mr. Sherard, who raised them all, and you may have plants or seeds from him next year; which I mention, having lost the rest that I gathered. I have seeds of the *Cistus* for you, and a few others, which I will send the first opportunity.

"From these parts we set out for Bristol, and from thence travelled through Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire, to meet Mr. Brown at Bishop's Castle; he being desirous of going with us to Snowdon, but he went only as far as Cader Idris. We observed little remarkable by the way. *Alcea tenuifolia crispa,*[4] of John Bauhin, is pretty common that way, and no other. In a hilly wood near Worcester, we observed a species of *Campanula,* with scattered flowers, on long slender spreading stalks, a square upright hairy stem, upper leaves very narrow, lower, broader, almost of the shape of *Veronica officinalis,* slightly hairy, minutely and elegantly crenate; the root short, annual, with few fibres.[5] I take it to be new. In boggy meadows here, as well as in other counties, I have observed this year and the last, a *Gramen junceum* with jointed leaves, and black shining heads, a root more fibrous and creeping than the common kind, the whole plant of more humble stature, and earlier.[6]

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[1] *Cistus polifolius.*

[2] *Silene maritima, With.*, 414. *Fl. Brit.*, 468.

[3] *Pimpinella dioica, Linn, Syst. Veg., and Fl. Brit.*, 332.

[4] *Malva Moschata.*

[5] *Campanula patula.* See *Hort. Elth.*, 68, *t.* 58.

[6] *Juncus lampocarpus, Davies, Tr. of L. Soc., v.* 10, 13.

This is as common, if not more so than the other. It is one of Micheli's, in the *Hortus Pisanus*.

"Along the Severn, to a great extent, grows wild the *Brassica sylvestris, rapum radice oblongâ*,[1] and *Sinapi siliguâ latiusculâ glabrâ*, &c.,[2] of J. Bauhin. We saw here and there, in Shropshire, *Sphondylium foliis angustioribus*,[3] which I believe to be a different species.

"Near Norbury, four or five miles before we came to Bishop's Castle, grows *Pimpinella tenuifolia*, of Rivinus,[4] *Pentap. Irr. t.* 83. Travelling from Bishop's Castle into Wales, in boggy ground upon the downs of Montgomeryshire, we observed *Gramen miliaceum exiguum palustre, paniculâ e locustis globularibus minimis constructa*, new as I think. Towards Llanydlos, in the hedges, *Oxyacantha folio et fructu minore*, noticed, if I mistake not, by Pontedera. Betwixt Llanydlos and Dolgelle, and between the latter and Carnarvon, we observed several new mosses of the *Pulmonaria* kind; viz., *Pulmonaria arborea minor*, Micheli Nov. Gen. t. 45.[5] *Lichenoides arboreum foliis lætè virentibus latis, scutellis fuscis*, nondescript.[6] *Lichenoides arboreum foliosum, ex cinereo glaucum inferné scabrum*.[7]

"The best country for Mosses that I ever was in is between Dolgelle and Carnarvon. We might have found a good many new ones there had not the violence of the rain and wind prevented us.

"We had only one fair day at Dolgelly, on which we ascended the hill of Cader Idris, and found there many of the Welsh plants; but Snowdon has still the preference above this or any other mountain I have visited. *Campanula alpina, foliis imis rotundioribus*[8] grows there, as well as on Snowdon; but I think it only a variety of the common one. About the cascades, in ascending the highest

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[1] *Brassica Rapa*, β. *Fl. Brit.*, 720.

[2] *Sinapis nigra*.

[3] *Heracleum Sphondylium*, β. *Fl. Brit.*, 307.

[4] *P. Saxifraga*, β. *Fl. Brit.*, 331.

[5] A narrow variety of *Lichen pulmonarius, Linn.*

[6] *Lichenoides, n.* 98. *Dill. Musc.*, 195, *t.* 25. *Lichen latevirens. Lightfoot Scot.*, 852.

[7] Perhaps *Lichen caperatus, Linn.*

[8] *C. rotundifolia*, β.

part of the hill, I found a *Lichenastrum*, with round silvery, densely fibrous shoots, not described,[1] which I saw afterwards upon the Glyder; and a very elegant *Muscus coralloides, facie coralinæ marinæ*,[2] growing out of the slate rocks. This I did not observe on Snowdon. Between Carnarvon and Dolgelle, amongst ferns in heathy ground, I found a very elegant upright Vetch, with pointed glaucous leaves, pods like those of the Lentil, growing many together on a long stalk, no tendrils. I had no time, nor would the rain permit me, to look after the root, whether it were that of an *Orobus*, but the leaves do not agree with the *O. sylvaticus nostras*.[3]

"Here, as well as in other parts of Wales, along the banks of rivers, grow two *Salices*, one with a sage-like rugged leaf,[4] the other with an obtuse, somewhat glaucous, leaf, *neque compacto, neque laxiore, sed medio*,[5] which I take to be different from all the rest of the English Willows. The weather being so bad, we resolved to go to Carnarvon, and to spend some time there and in the island of Anglesea, till it should settle fair, before we visited Snowdon. In the Carnarvon river which runs down from Llanberis, I met with the seeds of *Subularia repens, folio minus rigido*.[6] It has a naked seed, contained in a calyx cut into four segments. There is never more than one seed upon each little stalk or pedicle. Along the leaves come out, here and there, small horns beset with four or five marginal teeth, which may probably contain a dust, like the *apices* (or anthers) of perfect flowers. I was too late to ascertain this with certainty. The *Subulariæ rigidæ*[7] are of a quite different character,

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[1] *Jungermannia julacea.*

[2] *Lichen fragilis, Linn., Sp. Pl.* 1621.

[3] This could scarcely be anything else than *O. sylvaticus.*

[4] Perhaps *Salix cinerea.*

[5] Possibly *S. Lambertiana, Fl. Brit.*, 1041.

[6] *Dill., in Raii Syn.*, 306. Nothing is more certain than that this plant is *Littorella lacustris*, mentioned as a *Plantago* in the same work, 316, n. 11. Whether insects caused the appearances described by Dillenius, and exhibited in in his *Hist. Musc., t.* 81, we can but conjecture. They seem to have been found only once.

[7] These are the Isoetes.

for they bear at the bottom of their leaves, within, numerous seeds, like those of a Poppy in shape and size, which you may find, I believe, in your dried specimens, if you cut them in a sloping direction, just above the tuberous root. Some leaves contain nothing but dust, like what is in the head of a Moss. I know not whether this be unripe seeds, or a fecundating powder. It appears at the same time with the seeds formed. Anglesea is in its soil very like England, and except some marine plants, has no great variety or diversity. *Echium marinum*[1] does not grow near Trefarthen; but we found it afterwards plentifully by Llyffny river, where we went in search of it three or four miles before we got to the place mentioned (Clynog). *Pneumonanthe* of Cordus[2] grows plentifully on some boggy commons in Anglesea. In a wood I found *Fungi digitelli* of Parkinson, never seen by me before; and a new *Agaricus globosus anthracinus*, destitute of either pores or gills.[3] Two new Sea mosses over against Prestholm island, where we found also in plenty, *Chamæfilix marina anglica*.[4] In a small river that runs out of a pond near Squire Bayly's I observed a *Spongia fluviatilis*, a soft unbranched, very elegant species of a bright green; and a *Potamogeton* with oblong flat leaves, the lower ones alternate, the upper opposite; *Plantago marina*, the same with that found in Durdham, having thinner and more carinated leaves,[5] a variety of the maritime one, grows all over the inland part of the island [of Anglesea.] *Odontites*,[6] with a white flower, in some pastures. At Llandwyn, near Newborough, besides other marine plants, grows the *Chamæfilix marina* (above-mentioned); *Thalictrum minus*; *Ononis maritima procumbens*,[7] &c., of Plukenet; *Vulneraria flore*

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[1] *Pulmonaria maritima.*

[2] *Gentiana Pneumonanthe.*

[3] *Sphæria maxima.*

[4] *Asplenium marinum.*

[5] *P. maritima*, β. *Fl. Brit.*, 184.

[6] *Bartsia Odontites.*

[7] *Ononis arvensis*, γ *Fl. Brit.*, 758.

coccineo [1]; Mr. Stonestreet's Tithymalus,[2] but rarely on a small neck of land running into the sea; *Viola alpina lutea cum flore minore*,[3] a variety of the larger Welsh; at Abermeny ferry *Cakile marina*,[4] which I believe has been mistaken for *Leucojum marinum*,[5] and *Eruca monensis*,[6] a plant different from Boccone's, but the same with Plukenets, though very ill figured by him. The flower is pretty large, like *Rapistrum*.[7] I could find but very few specimens, and no seeds; but brought some young plants with me, which grow well at Mr. Sherard's.

"After a week's stay in this island we got a fair call for Snowdon, for the wind turning north-east cleared all the Welsh hills so that we left Holyhead, and the northern part of Anglesea, unsearched. We had pretty fair weather most of the time we were at Llanberis. There grows here and there, in wet places amongst the rocks, a *Bryum* or *Hypnum*, of a deep shining purple colour; [8] and a green one, pointed and pungent at the extremities; [9] which I remember in the Consul's collection, probably sent by you, but not taken notice of in the *Synopsis*. I could not find any heads on either of them. We found most of the Welsh plants then in season; but missed some upon Clogwyn-y-Garnedh, viz., *Filix pedicularis rubræ foliis*[10]; *Salix pumila, folio rotundo*;[11] *Cirsium humile montanum, cynoglossi folio, polyanthemum*.[12] At the very top of Snowdon we met with *Muscus islandicus purgans* of Bartholin; [13] and at the

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[1] *Anthyllis vulneraria*, β. *Fl. Brit.*, 760.
[2] *Euphorbia Portlandica.*
[3] *Viola lutea.*
[4] *Bunias Cakile.*
[5] *Cheiranthus sinuatus.*
[6] *Sisymbrium monense.*
[7] *Raphanus Raphanistrum.*
[8] *Bryum alpinum.*
[9] *Sphagnum alpinum;* See *Dill. Musc.*, 245.
[10] *Woodsia hyperborea, Brown, Tr. L. Soc., v.* 11, 170, *t.* 11.
[11] *Salix reticulata.*
[12] *Serratula alpina.*
[13] *Lichen islandicus, Linn.*

bottom of it, on the east side, in a meadow, *Campanula foliis cymbalariæ*,[1] in plenty. In a lake at the foot of Gribgoch I found *Potamogeton lapathi minoris foliis pellucidis*, D. Llwyd.[2] On the green pastures near the top of Gribgoch I could find nothing like a *Bistorta folio vario*,[3] but an *Acetosa lanceolato folio glabro spisso, obtuso et vix auriculato*,[4] in great plenty, which I have seen on other hills in Wales, and found only one specimen in flower. The lower leaves are very small, and roundish; that on the stalk broad at the base, long and tapering to a sharp point. Whether Parkinson mistook this for a *Bistorta* I cannot assert. His figure does not agree with my specimen. I brought plants with me and shall see next year what they come to. The *Hieracium latifolium uno vel altero flore*,[5] is only a variety of the common *Pulmonaria gallica*.[6] Not far from Llanberis Church, along the road, grows a *Gentianella pilosa, flore semper quadripartito*,[7] very different from *pratensis flore languinoso* of C. Bauhin. I find specimens of one amongst Consul Sherard's, gathered near Malham, which agree with this, except that the Malham ones seem to have the flowers divided into five segments. If I had a loose specimen or two I could better determine the difference. Our guide not being so well acquainted with the Glyder as with the hills on the other side, we could not get to the place where the *Bulbosa alpina juncifolia*, grows.[8] Nor could we find, on the south side, of Llyn y Cown, the *Hieracium* mentioned to grow there;[9]

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[1] *Campanula hederacea.*

[2] *Raii Syn.*, 150, *n.* 16; *possibly P. heterophyllum, Engl. Bot., t.* 1285.

[3] A variety of *Polygonum viviparum* found here by Parkinson.

[4] May be a variety of *Rumex Acetosa*, a very variable plant, if there be not more than one species confounded under it.

[5] *Raii Syn.*, 170, *n.* 13.

[6] *Hieraceum sylvaticum.*

[7] This may have been a four-cleft variety of *G. Amarella.*

[8] *Anthericum serotinum.*

[9] See *Raii Syn.*, 168, *n.* 7. Gerarde's plant is *Cineraria integrifolia.* Dr. Richardson's, found at Llyn y Cwm, appears by his own specimen to be *H. sylvaticum, β. Tr. Linn. Soc., v.* 9, 240.

nor the *Virga aurea montana, flore conglobato.*[1] There grows one on all the hills about Llanberis, and on other hills in Wales, which is indeed nothing but the common one.

"I am sure we were at the right place, for we found there *Lycopodium foliis juniperi.*[2] In the lake at Cown we found the common *Subularia folio rigido,*[3] mentioned to grow only in Phynon Vreech, and the *Juncifolia cochleariæ capsulis,*[4] pretty plentifully, which relieved me very much of our disappointment of not seeing more Glyder plants. In the lake near Llanberis a little further on, where you observed the *Subularia fragilis, folio longiore, et tenuiore,*[5] cast out of the lake, we found it growing there in great plenty. During our stay at Llanberis, we had very hard and uncomfortable lodging at the inn, and with difficulty got a young man to be our interpreter and guide."

After this excursion Mr. Brewer remained the winter and the greater part of the next year at Bangor, making it his residence, and taking his excursions to Snowdon and elsewhere, often accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Green, and Mr. William Jones. While in Wales it it was intended that he should have gone over to Ireland to make a botanical tour through that kingdom but that expedition never took place.

So long a residence gave him an opportunity not only of seeing the beauties of summer plants, but of collecting the *Cryptogamia* in winter, when they flourish most. Here he received instructions from the Professor, collected specimens of everything rare or unknown to him before, and sent them to Dillenius to determine the species and fix the names. A catalogue has been seen of more than two hundred mosses, many of which were ill-ascertained before, all

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[1] *Raii Syn.*, 177, *n*, 4. Dillenius was surely more correct here than afterwards, when he published the Welsh *Solidago* as distinct.

[2] *Lycopodium annotinum.*

[3] *Isoetes lacustris.*

[4] *Subularia aquatica.*

[5] *Isoetes lacustris,* the long-leaved variety, described in *Dill. Musc.*, 541, *t.* 80, *f.* 2.

sent at one time, with the references to the Synopsis affixed by Dillenius. This journey appears to have been designed to promote the "Appendix" to the "Synopsis."

Before concluding this paper I would especially invite the attention of the students of "Wiltshire botany" to the investigation of the mosses. They form an extremely interesting group; to the agriculturist and the geologist they are objects of engaging study. It may be truly stated that their wants are few—they live exclusively upon air and moisture, and the few articles of food which its currents may deposit on their arid fronds. The poet *Crabbe* has elegantly pourtrayed the purpose which these inferior order of plants fulfil in the economy of Nature. By growth and decay they convert the arid surface of the rock into a rich bed of humus for the reception of higher forms of vegetables, as these lines inimitably picture:—

> "There, in the rugged soil they safely dwell,
> Till showers and snows the subtle atoms swell,
> And spread th' enduring foliage; then we trace
> The freckled flower upon the flinty base.
> These all increase, until, in unnoted years,
> The stony tower as grey with age appears,
> With coats of vegetation thinly spread—
> Coat above coat—the living on the dead;
> These, then, dissolve to dust, and make away
> For better foliage, nursed by their decay."

Thus, indeed, by a remarkable rotation of existences, in which one step is made the forerunner of another, is shewn "Flora's triumph over the falling tower."

In 1728 Mr. Brewer went into *Yorkshire* and resided the remainder of his days at *Bradford*, in that county, in the neighbourhood of Dr. Richardson, by whose beneficence he was assisted in various ways. After his retirement into *Yorkshire* he meditated and nearly finished a work, which was to have borne the title of "*The Botanical Guide*," but it never appeared. I cannot determine the time of his decease, but am assured he was living in the year 1742.[1]

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[1] Bodman makes no mention of the Brewer family in his history of Trowbridge. —*T.B.F.*

From a rare Medal in the British Museum.
(date 1562); by Stephens, of Holland.

Facsimile of the Autograph of Sir William Herbert
(A. D. 1549.)

Facsimile of the same, as Earl of Pembroke.
(A.D. 1561.)

Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the Present Creation.

By J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.

THE career of this remarkable man has had but scant justice done to it. He played no inconsiderable part in the eventful reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. His connection with the county of Wilts began with the grants to him of the abbey lands of Wilton by Henry VIII. Sir R. C. Hoare's account of him, taken mainly from Collins' Peerage, is very short. Aubrey's biography on some points is scarcely to be relied upon; most of his information about the first earl must have come down to him by tradition. All I have attempted to do is to bring together such scattered notices of him as I have been able to find, with the addition only of such matter as is necessary to connect them together; for in truth a complete history of his life would be, in a great measure, the history of the period in which he lived.

The publication of the calendars of State Papers by the Record Commissioners has opened up a rich mine of new information in the smaller matters of history. In the foreign series many personal details are supplied by the untiring energy of the agents of foreign courts, especially of the republic of Venice, who kept their masters well informed of the minutest details of passing events; these now form some of the most valuable and authentic materials for the history of Europe in the sixteenth century. To what effective purpose these materials have been put, reference need only be made to Mr. Froude's work on this period of English history.

The origin of the Herberts is somewhat cloudy. It is in South Wales where we must look for the early history of the family. In the Priory Church at Abergavenny, is a remarkable series of monumental effigies ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth cen-

turies; amongst the most interesting are those of different members of the Herbert family, ancestors of the subject of our present notice. Mr. Octavius Morgan has published an elaborate memoir of these monuments, and has also given a full account of the pedigree of the Herbert family, the result, indeed, of a long series of careful and persevering researches which have been undertaken by the most reliable of the Welsh genealogists.[1] It appears then, that they are descended from Sir William ap Thomas, of Raglan, who was knighted by Henry VI. in 1426. His tomb is in Abergavenny Church, he was a native of that part of the country, and must have been the author of his own fortunes, as he was the fifth son of Thomas ap Gwilym ap Jenkin; and here his upward pedigree must stop as far as any authentic documentary proof is known to exist, although the heralds carry it back to Henry I. Sir William ap Thomas was a notable man in South Welsh story, and the father of sons, by Gwladys, daughter of Sir David Gam, of whom two were also remarkable: (1) Sir William; (2) Sir Richard Herbert, of Coldbrook. The fortunes of these brothers are matters of history; they were among the boldest and most powerful supporters of the White Rose, and shared in the varying fortunes of that party. William gained the earldom of Pembroke with large Welsh estates, and on the occasion of his receiving the Garter from Edward IV., he and Sir Richard (of whom more hereafter) had the royal command to renounce the Welsh custom of varying surnames, and to bear that of Herbert, for it appears that the surname of Herbert grew up in the families of the Earls of Pembroke and Powis and their immediate kinsmen as the English name of the race or clan *concurrently* with the continuance of their old Welsh patronymics. They were called Gwilim ap Jenkin, *otherwise* Herbert, and so on.

This William, Earl of Pembroke, of the first creation in the Herbert family, known as "Gwilim Ddu," or "Black Will," was beheaded at Banbury by Warwick and Clarence in 1469; he left

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[1] Some Account of the Ancient Monuments in the Priory Church at Abergavenny, by Octavius Morgan, Esq. Printed for the Monmouthshire and Carleon Antiq. Association.

three sons by his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, but in these we are not concerned:[1] he also had by his mistress, Maud, daughter and heiress of Adam ap Howell Graunt, two other sons; it is the eldest of them, Sir Richard Herbert, of Ewyas, who, though illegitimate, is ancestor of the men who have really, in modern times, rendered the name of Herbert illustrious. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Matthew Cradock, of Swansea. His eldest son, William Herbert—the subject of the present memoir—was made Earl of Pembroke (second creation), and is ancestor of the existing Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, and of Carnarvon, of the Duke of Powis, of Pool Castle (extinct 1747), and, in the female line, of the Marquis of Bute, who thence derives his Glamorganshire estates.

This Sir Richard, of Ewyas, has a very fine canopied tomb in Abergavenny Church. It still retains traces of rich colouring, and is ornamented with several shields bearing the three lions of the Herberts with the bendlet, also the three boars' heads and crosslets of the Cradock's.

There is also a fine altar-tomb in alabaster, carrying the effigies of Sir Richard Herbert and his wife, of Coldbrook, already mentioned as brother to the Earl of Pembroke of the first creation. This Sir Richard, of Coldbrook, must be carefully distinguished from Sir Richard, of Ewyas, for by some strange mistake the effigies of this monument are figured in Sir R. C. Hoare's account of Wilton, in his Modern Wilts, as those of Sir Richard Herbert, of Ewyas and his wife, ancestors of the Earls of Pembroke, they being really the effigies of Sir Richard Herbert, of Coldbrook, and his wife, who had nothing to do with the Earls of Pembroke. In the plate they are accompanied with shields of arms of Herbert without the bendlet, which is most conspicuous in the real tomb of Sir Richard, of Ewyas, and also the arms of Cradock, thus mixing up the two monuments by giving the figures of one with the arms of the other. Upon

[1] William, second earl (first creation), exchanged the dignity for that of Huntingdon in 1479, King Edward being desirous to confer the earldom of Pembroke upon his son, Prince Edward. This William left an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married Charles Somerset, first Earl of Worcester, but having no male issue his honours expired. (Burke's Extinct Peerage).

this, Mr. Morgan says, "It is remarkable that so able a man as Sir R. C. Hoare, who had visited Monmouthshire in company with Archdeacon Coxe, and made many of the drawings for his tour of the county, should have made so great a mistake, and fallen into such an error, for on the Ewyas monument that word is most distinct; that being, in fact, the only monument of the series which has any inscription."

William Herbert was born in 1506: of his early history little is known. Aubrey says, "he was a mad fighting young fellow," and then gives an account of a strange adventure which befel him at Bristol in 1527; this is in the main correct, but the details are more fully given by the Bristol historians. On Midsummer night in that year there was a great fray made by the Welshmen on the king's watch, and on the following St. James's day, the mayor and his brethren returning from a wrestling match, a dispute arose in which one Richard Vaughan, a mercer, was killed on the bridge by William Herbert, the cause being, "a want of some respect in compliment." He escaped through the great gate towards the marsh, where a boat being prepared and the tide ebbing he got into Wales, and afterwards went to France; where, according to Aubrey, he betook himself into the army and showed so much courage and readiness of wit in conduct that he was favoured by the king, who afterwards recommended him to Henry VIII.

His marriage with Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, must have had an important influence on his career. Sir Thomas Parr, who died in 1517, had three children—William, afterwards Marquis of Northampton, Katharine, and Ann; he left all his extensive manors to his wife for life. He willed his daughters, Katharine and Ann, to have eight hundred pounds between them, as marriage portions, except they proved to be his heirs or his sons' heirs.[1] Four hundred pounds, Ann's moiety, would be scarcely equal to £2000 in these days, and seems but an inadequate dowry for the daughter of parents so richly endowed as Sir Thomas and Lady Parr. Both Katharine

[1] This afterwards happened to Lady Herbert's son. The Marquis of Northampton, says Dugdale, dying without issue, Henry, Earl of Pembroke (his nephew by one of his sisters), became his next heir.

and Ann appear to have been most carefully educated by their widowed mother.[1] Katharine afterwards became the sixth wife of Henry VIII. She was of more distinguished ancestry than either Ann Boleyn or Jane Seymour. One of her ancestors was for a time settled in the country of the Herberts. "About 1093 Fitz-Hamon, who was a friend and follower of Rufus, made a conquest of the marches of Glamorganshire. Of the six unquestionable Norman settlers there contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, was St. Quintin, of Llanblethian. This family, however, had left South Wales in 1249. Their heiress was the lady whose blood, mingled with that of Fitz-Hugh and of Marmion, centred in Parr of Kendal, and now flows in the veins of the Herberts of Wilton." [2]

In 1542 and 1544 Herbert received, by favour of Henry VIII., the large grant of the Abbey of Wilton with its extensive estates. The first grants, dated March and April,[3] thirty-third of Henry VIII. include the site of the late monastery, the manor of Washerne adjoining, also the manors of Chalke: these are given to William Herbert, esquire, and Anne, his wife, for the term of their lives, with certain reserved rents to the King. In the interval the king had married Katharine Parr, sister to Lady Herbert. On the 4th January, 1544 (Patent Roll, 35 Henry VIII., part 17) these estates are re-granted, together with a long list of possessions belonging to the late monastery, to Sir William Herbert, Anne, his wife, and their heirs male.

This famous monastery for Benedictine nuns, over which many royal ladies had ruled during Anglo-Saxon times, had dwindled down to a house of moderate dimensions before the dissolution.[4]

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[1] In the will of Dame Maude Parr, dated 1529, printed in the Camden Society's vol., No. 83, particulars will be found of jewels, &c., bequeathed to her daughter Ann.

[2] The Land of Morgan, by G. T. Clark, Esq., Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. xxxiv., pp. 30, 31.

[3] The grant of the Manor of Washerne, dated April 8th, is printed by Sir R. C. Hoare, Hundred of Branch and Dole, p. 226.

[4] A valuable document has lately been discovered amongst the records of the Cathedral at Wells which throws some light on the state of the abbey in the

The appointment of the penultimate abbess was the first cause of coolness between Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. Mr. Brewer, in his Introductions to Letters, &c., temp. Henry VIII., under the date 1528, says, "The good understanding between the king and his minister was rudely shaken by unexpected events, that must have reminded Wolsey of the instability of greatness. On the death of the Abbess of Wilton, in the time of the sweating sickness, John Carey, the brother of Mary Boleyn's husband, was anxious to secure the vacant appointment for his sister Elinor, one of the nuns. Her appointment was warmly espoused by Ann and the king, as might

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eleventh century. It is simply a deed of sale of certain lands at Combe, in Somersetshire to the Bishop of Wells; but the transaction took place at Wilton, on February 28th, 1072, before the abbess, the royal Editha. The document itself is a transcript made in the 15th century, but from internal evidence it is considered by Professor Earle to be undoubtedly a copy of the original. It has been printed, together with a translation, in the twenty-second vol. of the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, where reference is made to an elaborate notice of the document by Mr. Freeman; from which we incidentally learn "that the widow of Edward the Confessor, the sister of Harold, the daughter of Godwine, lived here in quasi-regal state, holding her court as Lady of the English, surrounded by a following purely English, with not a Norman name among the officers of her household. We mark at once that the English scribe speaks of the Old Lady with greater reverence than he bestows on her Norman successor, and the royal state which she is recorded to have kept is brought before us in a lively manner. The place too is eminently characteristic of the lady herself. The biographer of her husband tells us that, whereas the Church of Wilton had before been of wood, she rebuilt it of stone. It is therefore marked as a 'stone church,' and we even have something of its architectural design. It had an 'upfloor,' a triforium. The word is used in the Chronicle in describing Abbot Thurstan's doings at Glastonbury; and, as the upfloor was used for the transaction of business, attended by many witnesses, we may suppose that it was a large, wide, lofty upper story, such as is found in many early Norman minsters. The Church of Wilton, in short, followed the proportions of Waltham and Norwich, not those of Gloucester and Tewkesbury. In that upfloor, nigh before the lady, Azor sold his land to the Bishop, and the purchase was witnessed by twenty-six witnesses, all of whom, save one or two, we may safely pronounce to be Englishmen. After a long list of names, some of which are not unknown in Domesday and the Charters, the last signatures are those of her two cooks. The abbess-queen had one cook bearing the good English name of Æthelric; the other, Rabel, is more doubtful. But, as the deed was drawn up in Lent, the services of both of them were, for the moment, less important than usual."

be expected, but it was found upon examination that Elinor Carey had been guilty of gross incontinence. When this was made known to Wolsey by Dr. Bell, it was reported to the king." The king's answer (printed in Sir R. C. Hoare's account of Wilton) is strong in condemnation of Elinor Carey, he also refuses to give it to Wolsey's candidate, Isabella Jordayne, the "ancient, wise, and discreet" prioress of the Abbey, who was sister to the Abbess of Sion. The Cardinal, however, made the appointment, to the annoyance of the king. Mr. Brewer goes on to say "Justly alarmed by these indications of the king's displeasure, Wolsey had recourse to various excuses. This drew from the king a remonstrance not less honorable to himself than the cardinal."

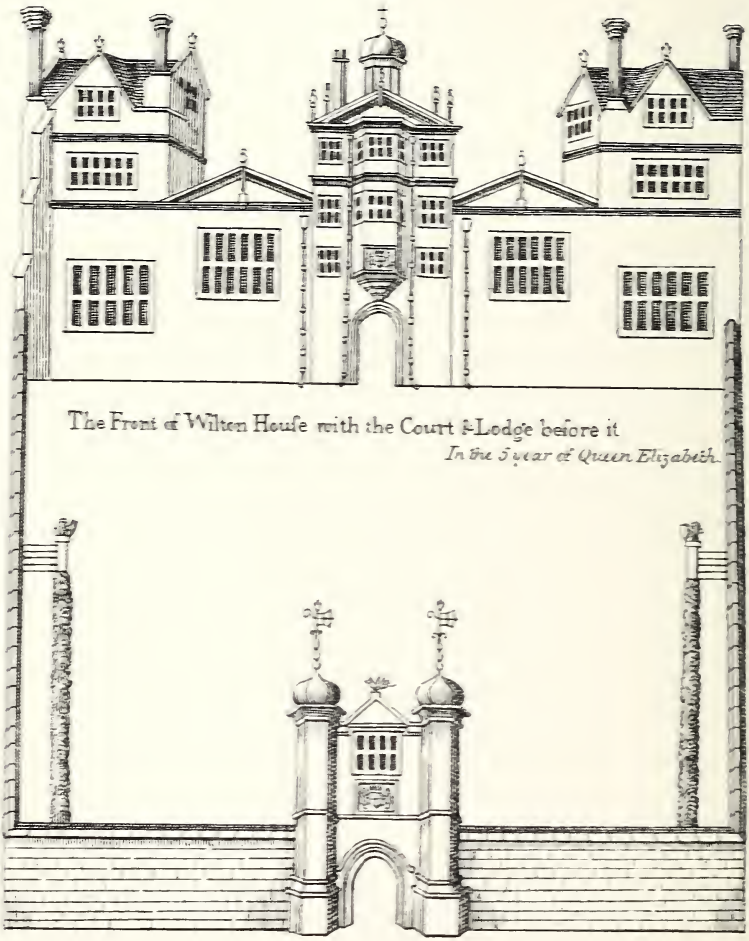
Some information as to the state of the abbey can be gleaned from two letters, still extant, written by Dr. Benet, a priest of Salisbury, to Wolsey. The first, dated April 24th, 1528, after announcing the death of the abbess, says, "The substance of the house consists in wool to the value of 600 marks, there is but little money." The proceedings of the nuns at this time seem to have troubled Benet grievously; three months later he writes to the cardinal to this effect: "Repaired to Wilton, and used every effort to bring over the nuns to Wolsey's wishes. Found them untoward, and put three or four of the captains of them in ward. Has closed up the doors, that none might have access to the nunnery. Found only the new elect and her sisters compliant. As they are now visited by the plague, and much straitened in their lodging by the burning of their dormitory, thought it best to advise Wolsey before taking further proceedings." From the circumstance of the nuns being so inconvenienced by the burning of their dormitory, it would seem that the accommodation provided for the inmates was but limited.

We also find that the surroundings of the abbey had been much neglected. In the Particulars for Grants (Court of Augmentation), 33 Henry VIII., a most careful valuation is made of the large amount of timber within the manor of Broad Chalke, which formed part of the possssions of the Abbey, but the entry relating to the timber on the site and demesnes of the late monastery is, "The trees growing about the said site, and in hedges inclosing the said

demesnes will barely suffice to maintain and repair the fences and the said hedges—therefore not valued."

It is probable that Sir William Herbert made a clean sweep of nearly all the monastic buildings; there is certainly no part of the original abbey contained in the present house. Some of the stones themselves may have been, and probably were, brought from Old Sarum, many of the squared stones have all the appearance of having been previously used in Norman buildings. It is known that Old Sarum formed a convenient stone quarry for the neighbourhood during several centuries. The only exception to this general destruction is found in the massive remains of a Gothic building now standing near the stables. It is good vigorous work of the fourteenth century, and has a capital example of the "shouldered" arch; it possibly formed some part of the outbuildings of the original establishment. Within the house the only probable remains of the abbey consist of some fragments of painted glass of the fourteenth century, now placed in an upper window of the entrance hall and once forming the rich canopy heads of a larger window.

The original plan of the house was a quadrangle, pretty much on its present lines; but the east front is the only part which retains its original exterior, and this has been a good deal altered. When the south front was rebuilt in its present state by Inigo Jones, the wings of the east side were brought somewhat into harmony with it, but the central mass remained intact until the upper part was remodelled by Wyatt, early in the present century. The only additions to the old work being the two canopied niches containing thermes on either side of the porch of entrance. These were added by Henry, the second earl, probably soon after he came to the estate. They are surmounted by shields of armorial bearings, that on the dexter side carries the quarterings of the first earl, the supporters of which rest on his initials, W.P., whilst that on the other side bears the shield of Henry, the second earl, the supporters resting on his own initials, H.P. The only connection of the building with Henry VIII. is found in a coat of the royal arms and supporters, with the monogram of that king, now built into the wall on the north side of the house, over the entrance porch, but this is not its original



Sketch of WILTON HOUSE, as it appeared A. D. 1563.

position. It is of finely-cut work, as are many others of the heraldic shields found in different parts of the building.[1]

The earliest drawing I have met with of Wilton House in its original state, is contained in an early manuscript copy of the Pembroke Terrier, in possession of the late Mr. W. Blackmore. It is merely a pen and ink sketch, and is dated 1563, six years before the death of Lord Pembroke; a reduced copy is given on the opposite page. This, like most of the early topographical drawings and engravings, is rather an indication of the general features of the building than anything else; the architectural details are very meagre, but there is no reason to doubt that it represents generally what the principal front was at that time. The large court, with its gate-house, was the scene of a grand reception of Queen Elizabeth, by the second earl, a few years later. This was standing at the time of the visit of Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1669, and the foundation walls were lately found, during some excavations, on the exact lines indicated by the plan. This was the first, but by no means the finest, of the many Wiltshire examples of that interesting period of English architecture which arose after the Reformation, and must not be confounded with the renaissance of Southern Europe. The magnificent Longleat, the stately Longford, Littlecot, and Corsham, were all built within this generation; not free from foreign influence, it is true, but still having a character of their own which might have been developed into a national style but for the overpowering influence of the classic taste which ultimately swamped all original efforts.

The curious architectural erection now standing in the garden,

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[1] The greater part of these were probably done in the time of Henry, the second earl, as well as the many shields of arms on painted glass, in a more or less perfect state, which are now placed in the heads of the windows in the cloisters of the house. We learn from Aubrey that "His Lordship was the patron to the men of armes, and to the antiqaries and heralds; he took a great delight in the study of herauldry, as appeares by that curious collection of heraldique manuscripts in the library here. It was this earle that did set up all the painted glasse scutchions about the house. Many a brave souldier, no doubt, was here obliged by his Lordship; but time has obliterated their names." (Natural History of Wiltshire, part ii., chap. iii.)

called Holbein's Porch, is of the period of the original work, and stood formerly within the quadrangle. Holbein is said to have been employed to design all these early buildings, but probably without sufficient reason. Holbein is now known to have died in 1543. Sir William Herbert only had the grant of the abbey in 1542. Besides this, there is nothing in the work which makes it probable. As well as being a great painter, Holbein, like many other artists of the renaissance period, designed goldsmith's work, and decorations of a refined character, but these things had little in common with the architectural buildings which are sometimes ascribed to him.

Besides his residence at Wilton, Sir William Herbert had afterwards the grant of Baynard's Castle, a magnificent mansion standing on the banks of the Thames, near the spot now knows as Paul's wharf, in the city. It is described in the grant as being parcel of the possessions of the Lady Katharine, late Queen of England, "like as the same hath always been reserved to the Queenes of this realm for their lodging when it hath pleased them to repair to the same, with the gardens, courts, grounds, edifications, buildings, and other appurtenances." Stowe, in his survey of London, says "Henry VII. repaired or rather new builded this house, not imbattled, or so strongly fortified castle-like: but farre more beautifull and commodious for the entertainment of any Prince or great estate. In the 20th Henry VII., the said King, with his Knights of the Order, all in the habit of the Garter, rode from the Tower of London through the city unto the Cathedral Church of St. Pauls, and there heard evensong, and from thence they rode to Baynard's Castle, where the King lodged. The same yeere the King of Castile was lodged there."

January 24th, 1543-4, Herbert had a grant of the office of captain of the castle and town of Aberystwith, also the custody of Carmarthen Castle for life. In this year, too, he received the honor of knighthood.

Henry VIII. died in January, 1547, his son, Edward VI., being then only nine years old. Sir William Herbert was one of the executors of the will of the late king, together with some other principal personages of the court. This carefully-prepared document was to some extent set aside by the appointment of Hertford

(Edward Seymour, of Wulfhall), uncle of the boy king, as Protector. This was hastily done at a meeting of the Council, when Herbert was present. The funeral of the king took place at Windsor, it was conducted with the utmost magnificence. Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny were the only two that were carried in the funeral chariot with the royal corpse. Some curious particulars are given in a letter taken from the Venetian State Papers, by one Ludovico Montio, who had been in the service of Henry VIII. It is known that the body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, but what made most impression on Montio was the wax-work figure of the king wrought to the life, and most sumptuously apparelled in robes, being covered with precious stones; the obsequies lasted twenty days, there being one hearse at Westminster, another at Sion, and a third, the grandest of all, at Windsor.

Sir William Herbert was left £300 in the will. It appears that the king, shortly before his death, was prepared to make considerable grants of lands and titles to the members of the council. Secretary Paget was directed to prepare a list of recipients for these gifts, but modestly left out his own name. The new schedule was read over to the king in the presence of Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny. "Mr. Secretary has remembered all men save one," said Herbert. "You mean himself," replied the king. "I remember him, and he shall be helped." Upon the strength of the late king's intention, the new Government made the Protector, Duke of Somerset; his brother received the title of Lord Seymour of Sudleye, with suitable grants; Lord Parr, the brother of Lady Herbert, was made Marquis of Northampton, besides other preferments.

The first grant of estates to Sir William Herbert by the Government of Edward VI. is dated July 10th, 1547, six months after the death of Henry VIII. "The consyderacion of the gifte" being "ffor the fullfillinge of a Determinacion made by Kinge H. the viijth by his last Will.[1]" This grant included the manors of North Newton and Hulcott, which remained in possession of the Pembrokes down to 1680, when they were sold by Philip, the seventh earl.

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Edw. VI., vol. 19.

From an entry in the MS. Terrier I am enabled to add the names of the purchasers, and the sums paid for their several portions.[1]

Soon after the funeral of the king, Sir William and Lady Herbert were in London, probably at Baynard's Castle. It was at this time that Lord Seymour, of Sudleye, married the widowed queen. He was handsome, courtly and courageous, and, like most of his contemporaries, unscrupulous. He, like other members of his family, shared largely in the plunder of the Church. His ambition led him to aspire successively to the hands of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and failing in this, he made advances to the widowed Queen Katharine, by whom he was more than readily accepted, the queen avowing, "my mynd was fully bent the other tyme I was at libertye [that is, in her previous widowhood] to marry you before any man I know."

The queen (together with the princess Elizabeth) was then living at her manor of Chelsea, where Seymour was in the habit of privately visiting her. Their confidante was the queen's sister, Lady Herbert; this is evident from the following extracts from a letter written by Seymour to Katharine, describing the way he was cross-questioned by his new sister-in-law, and his anxiety, till he found Lady Herbert was in the secret. The letter is printed by Tytler, and is dated May 17th, 1547.

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[1] The Manor of Newton and Hulcott sold to the several persons hereafter named by Lord Philip, is.

North Newton and Hulcott.	To Mr. Christopher Gardiner p^{t} for	930	0	0
	To Edward Alexander p^{t} for	225	0	0
	To Richd Chandler p^{t} for	225	0	0
	To Mr. John Priaulx p^{t} for	300	0	0
	To Mr. Thos Blake p^{t} for	470	0	0
	To Mr. Oliver Shergold p^{t} for	555	0	0
	To Mr. John Davis p^{t} for	676	0	0
	To Mr. Charles Newberry p^{t} for	490	0	0
	To Mr. James Pawlett p^{t} for	260	0	0
	To Mr. Richd Brownjohn p^{t} for	130	0	0
		£4261	0	0

From Lord Admiral Seymour to Katharine Parr.

"After my humble commendation unto your highness, yesternight I supt at my brother Herberd's, of whom, for your sake besides mine own, I received good cheer; and after the same, I received from your highness, by my sister Herberd, your commendations, which were more welcome than they were sent. And after the same, she waded further with me, touching my being with your Highness at Chelsea, which I denied, being with your Highness; but that indeed, I went by the garden as I went to see the Bishop of London's house, and at this point stood with her for a time, till at the last she told me further tokens which made me change colours, who, like a false wench, took me with the manner. Then remembering what she was, and knowing how well you trusted her, examined her whether those things came from your Highness, and by that knew it to be true; for the which I render unto your Highness my most humble and hearty thanks; for by her company, in default of yours, I shall shorten the weeks in these parts, which heretofore, were three days longer in every one of them than they were under plummet at Chelsea."

Four months had not yet elapsed since the death of the king. The exact date of their union being unknown, Miss Strickland, in her Lives of the Queens of England, considers this letter to be the earliest evidence of their still secret marriage, owing to Seymour calling Sir William and Lady Herbert (not Lord Herbert, as Miss Strickland styles him) "brother," and "sister." Seymour and the queen lived in great magnificence, Katharine in the misguided notion that he loved her for herself; but the period of their felicity was very short, she gave birth to a daughter and died at the time, Seymour closed his turbulent career soon after at the block.

Sir William Herbert was actively employed during the eventful year of 1549. In the spring, the dispute between the peasantry and the commissioners for enclosing common lands had come to a crisis: the Protector Somerset, whose power was now on the wane, came into open collision with the council on this point, and countenanced the rioters. The more energetic among the lords resolved, in consequence, to act for themselves; Sir William Herbert, whose own parks had been invaded, attacked the rioters in person, and cut some of them to pieces.

At this crisis came the news of the insurrection in the western counties, where the rebels demanded a return to Catholicism. Active measures were now taken; as the treasury was empty, the lords sold their plate and jewels to raise money; before the rebellion was over

nearly £100,000 had been subscribed by the nobility, to which Sir William Herbert was a large contributor. His personal influence was still among the Welsh, he immediately raised a force of one thousand mountaineers, and marched across the Somersetshire flats to Exeter. This place had been taken, however, by Lord Russell on August 6th. Herbert arrived immediately afterwards, "too late for the work, but soon enough for the play, for the whole country was put to the spoil, and every soldier fought for his best profit. The services of the mountain cattle lifters were made valuable to Exeter; for the city being destitute of victuals, was, by their special industry, provided in two days." [1]

Sir William Herbert and Lord Russell were with the forces in the western counties during the two following months, so that they took no active part in the events which led to the fall of the Protector Somerset. Upon the danger becoming imminent, Somerset sent his youthful son, Lord Edward Seymour, to Russell and Herbert with instructions to push forward immediately, as the king's person was in danger. This missive met them at Wilton; they immediately started, and upon reaching Andover found letters from Warwick and the Council by which it appeared that the real danger to be feared was not from a conspiracy of the lords, but from a fresh insurrection of the commons, on the invitation of Somerset. Being still at the head of a portion of the army, the Protector had relied upon their aid, so that the defection of Russell and Herbert must have been a knell to the duke. From Andover they sent an answer back to the duke, by the hands of his son, Lord Edward; it enters fully into the political state of the times, and gives sufficient reason for their course of action. This admirable letter has been printed by Tytler, who says, "Its right feeling and good sense, with the pure and vigorous style of its composition, render it a remarkable document." It is dated October 8th, 1549, and signed J. Russell and W. Herbert. Warwick and the Council were also looking anxiously for a reply. They had not long to wait; Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert must have returned to Wilton without a moment's delay, for on the

[1] Froude's History of England, ch. 26.

next day an explanatory letter was sent; this document is preserved in the State Paper Office. The following are some extracts from it:

"Incontinently upon our arrival here at Wilton, we received divers letters from the King's Majesty and the Protector, to come forth to the Court with all diligence; and especially one that he sent by his son the Lord Edward. Upon the receipt whereof, we prepared ourselves to come up; and with such gentlemen as were then in our company, and with our servants, came as far as Andover, where we understood many things, for the countreys every way *were in a roar* that no man wist what to do. Thus being at Andover, and weighing as well the state of the things above, as also the tickleness * of the country, which hitherto understandeth not what the matter may mean, we despatched the Lord Edward to the Protector with such answer as by the copy thereof, which we also send herewith, it may appear; and thereupon thought it very requisite to return to Wilton, there to abide the assembly of the gentlemen of all these parts, and to gather such power as may serve us to come thro' withal to do good, if need should so require; and have sent to Bristol for some light ordnance, and for money, with such other things as may be necessary. . . . And as we are glad that our chance was to be here now, where undoubtedly the place and the time have both served us to stand in better stead, and to do better service, than if we had been there with you, &c. From Wilton, 9th October, 1549."

They immediately took active measures to meet the expected rising; the same day a letter was sent by Russell and Herbert to the Sheriff of Gloucester and others, "to suppress the publication of any idle rumours, and to forbid all persons from assembling without due authority." A few days after this, Somerset was arrested and for a time kept in the Tower.

As the cost of providing funds for the suppression of the rebellion had fallen mainly on the Lords of the Council, they repaid themselves by tampering with the currency, and still further adding to the base coinage which had already driven gold out of the country and produced other disastrous complications. On the 28th October of this year a warrant was addressed to the Master of the Mint, setting forth that whereas the well-beloved councillor Sir William Herbert, in suppression of the rebels, had not only spent the great part of his plate and substance, but also had borrowed for the same purpose great sums of money, for which he remained indebted—the officers of the mint might receive at his hands two thousand pounds weight in bullion, in fine silver—the said bullion to be coined and printed

* Tickleness; tottering, uncertain state.

into money current according to the established standard—the money so made to be delivered to the said Sir William Herbert, with all such profits as would otherwise have gone to the crown, after deducting the expenses of coining. The profit to Sir William Herbert, beyond the sum which he would have received as a bullion merchant for the 2000lb. of silver, was £6709 19*s.*; and immediately afterwards the same privilege was extended to Warwick, Arundell, Southampton, Paget, Dorset, Russell, and Northampton, for an equal sum to be raised by similar means.[1]

The distress and discontent in the country at this time were very great, the popular feeling was in favour of the deposed Protector, but Warwick, who was the soul of the ultra-protestant party, was paramount in the Council. On this point Mr. Froude says, "Lulled by the panegyrics of the Protestants, who saw in them all that was most excellent, most noble, most devout, the lords, or rather, the triumvirate of Warwick, Northampton, and Sir William Herbert, who now governed England, were contented to earn their praises by fine words, by persecuting and depriving bishops inclined to be conservative, and by confiscating and appropriating the estates of the vacated sees."

Somerset now made a last attempt to regain power. In April of the year 1551, he had been on the point of flying to the northern counties with Lord Grey, to call out the people and place himself at their head, and had only been prevented by Sir William Herbert, who assured him that he was in no danger. The design of taking action, however, assumed form, the Duchess of Somerset invoked the aid of her brother, Sir Michael Stanhope, and her half-brother, Sir Thomas Arundell. A scheme was formed to arrest and imprison Warwick, Northampton, and Herbert, into which the Earl of Arundell entered eagerly and warmly; but Somerset's mind misgave him, and his purposes were vaccillating. First there was a doubt whether Herbert should be included in the arrest; afterwards, according to one witness, the duke changed his mind, "and would meddle no further with the apprehension of any of the Council, and

[1] Froude's History of England, chap. 26.

said he was sorry he had gone so far with the Earl of Arundell." A few months more saw the end of Somerset. On the 16th October he was again arrested and sent to the Tower, where he was afterwards beheaded.

It was only a few days before Somerset's arrest that significant and important changes in the peerage were made amongst the principal members of the Council. Warwick became Duke of Northumberland; Lord Dorset, Lady Jane Grey's father, was made Duke of Suffolk; Sir William Herbert, Baron Herbert of Cardiff, and on the next day he was advanced to the dignity of the Earl of Pembroke. This title had been previously borne, as we have already seen, by his grandfather.

Pembroke had sat on the trial of Somerset, in Westminster Hall (December, 1551), together with twenty-six other peers. The Protector's death had been followed by the trial and execution of Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundell, and others. The condemnation of Arundell was effected with great difficulty. The jury were shut up on a day in January, twenty-four hours, without fire, food, or drink, before they would agree on a verdict. The forfeiture of the estates of the Duke of Somerset gave occasion to a sharp debate in the Commons. Pembroke benefitted very largely by grants of Wiltshire estates, both from the late Protector and Sir Thomas Arundell. From the latter's attainder he got Wardour Castle and Park, which afterwards reverted again to the Arundells by exchange and purchase.[1]

The Duke of Somerset being acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, his dignities and entailed estates were not necessarily forfeited, but, of the remainder of his North Wilts property, Pembroke received a large share. The grant is dated 7th May, 6th Edward VI. (Patent Rolls, part 7), and included the manor and parks of Ramsbury, Hundred of Kinwardstone, the Broil of Bedwin situated on Doddesdown, Baydon, Axford, the Earldoms, &c.

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[1] "Werdore Castle and park there which came to the Lord's hands as an Escheat by the Attainder of Thomas Arundell K^{t} as that which he held of the Lord by Knights service, as of the Bell house at Wilton by the iiij part of a Knights fee." (Pembroke Terrier.)

During the interval of the Protector Somerset's fall and his second arrest, he devoted himself a good deal to building; in a letter from John Knox he is upbraided, in that he preferred the company of his architects and masons to attendance at chapel and sermons. It was about this time that he commenced the foundations of his new mansion at Bedwin Broil, so graphically described by Canon Jackson, in his paper on Wulfhall and the Seymours.[1] In the grant to Lord Pembroke the foundations, conduits, &c., are mentioned.

Ramsbury Manor House was occupied by the Pembrokes down to the middle of the seventeenth century. Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, in her diary, says that she lived here and at Baynard's Castle during the troubled married life of herself and Philip, the fourth earl. About this time it was described by Symonds, in his MS. journal, as "a fine square stone house—a brave seate, tho' not comparable to Wilton." Ramsbury Manor was sold in 1676, by Philip, the seventh earl, to "one Powell," for £30,155. This purchase was probably made on behalf of Sir William Jones, Kt., Attorney-General. The woodlands at the Earldoms, on the borders of the New Forest, remained in possession of the Pembrokes down to the present time, and were only sold in 1877, under powers of the Inclosure Commissioners, for the purpose of exchange.[2]

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[1] *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xv.

[2] Just previous to this grant of the Earldoms, Pembroke had been engaged in settling a dispute between the Bishop of Salisbury and a family of the name of Light, relating to the office of woodward of the Langley Woods, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Earldoms. Pembroke's award, dated 16th October, 5th Edward VI., and preserved amongst the muniments of the see of Salisbury, is printed in Hoare's Wilts, Frustfield Hundred, p. 63. In the same volume (p. 66) an account is given of the Earldoms, in which these woodlands are considered to represent one of the early grants to the Abbey of Wilton, under the name of Frustfield. This grant seems to have been included with South Newton, near Wilton, and had certain rights of pasturage and wood in the forest of Melchet. There is a Newton situated in the tything of Whelpeley close by Melchet. The description given of the Earldoms in the grant as well as in the Pembroke Terrier is "The Eardoms lye neare the fforest of Milshott in the fields and parish of Whiteparish, Landford and Plaitford." The Terrier adds, "These Woods did Anciently belong to the Duke of Somerset, before his Attainder, but being then forfeited were granted out from the Crown as above." (Granted in the patent of Ramsbury to William, Earl of Pembroke, and the heirs males of his body, 7th May, 6th Edw. VI.)

Anne, first wife of Sir William Herbert, and daughter of Thomas, Lord Parr, of Kendal. (From stained glass, now in Wilton Church.)

Edw. Kite, anastat

In November, 1551, the Queen Dowager of Scotland paid a visit to the court of Edward VI. in considerable state. The queen came to London from Hampton Court, and lodged at Baynard's Castle, thence riding to the bishop's palace with many lords; she afterwards rode through the city of London with the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Pembroke, attended by more than a hundred gentlemen, well mounted and richly dressed in coats guarded with velvet, wearing chains, and hats with white feathers.

Early in the year 1552, Lord Pembroke lost his first wife Anne, by whom he had two sons: Henry, afterwards second Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Edward Herbert; also a daughter, Anne, who married Lord Talbot, son of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. Lady Pembroke was buried in old St. Paul's. An account of her funeral is preserved in the Diary of Henry Machin, citizen of London (Camden Soc., vol. 42). "On the 28th February was buried the noble countess of Pembroke, sister to the late Queen Katharine, wife of King Henry VIII. She died at Baynard's Castle, and was so carried into Paul's. There were a hundred poor men and women who had mantle frieze gowns, then came the heralds; after this the corpse, and about her, eight banner rolls of arms. Then came the mourners both lords and knights and gentlemen, also the lady and gentlewomen mourners to the number of two hundred. After these were two hundred of her own and other servants in coats. She was buried by the tomb of [the Duke of] Lancaster. Afterwards her banners were set up over her, and her arms set on divers pillars."

In the old chapel at Wilton House was preserved a stained glass window, in which were painted the kneeling figures of Lord Pembroke and his two sons, also that of his wife, Anne Parr, and her daughter. The glass is now removed to the new Church at Wilton, and will be found in the first window to the right on entering. Lady Pembroke is represented as wearing a rich mantle, covered with her armorial bearings, an engraving of which is given on the opposite page. The lady's mantle bears the following quarterings:—

1. Argent, two bars azure within a bordure engrailed Sable—Parr.
2. Or, three water bougets Sable—Ros, of Kendal.
3. Azure, three bucks trippant Vert—Green.

4. Gules, a chevron between three cross-crosslets, and in chief a lion passant Or—Mablethorpe.
5. Azure, three chevronels braced in base, and a chief Or—Fitzhugh.
6. Vaire, a fess Gules—Marmion.
7. Or, three chevronels Gules, a chief Vaire—St. Quentin.
8. Gules, a bend between six cross-crosslets Or—Furneaux.
9. Barry of eight Argent and Gules a fleur-de-lis Sable—Stavely.
10. [This last quartering, now replaced by a fragment of flowered glass, was no doubt that of Gernegan—barry of ten Or and Azure an eagle displayed Argent.]

In May, 1552, Pembroke mustered his band of retainers, with others, in Greenwich Park, the standard before them being of red, white, and blue, and a dragon with an arm in his mouth, his men being clothed in embroidered coats of his own livery. We learn from Strype that "a retainer was a servant, not menial (that is continually dwelling in the house of his lord or master) but only wearing his livery, and attending sometimes upon special occasions upon him. The livery was wont to consist of hats or hoods, badges and other suits of one garment by the year. These licenses were given many time to lords and gentlemen on purpose for maintenance of quarrels, and many murders were committed by the means thereof, and feuds kept up among the nobility and gentry."

In June, 1552, King Edward began his last progress in great state. It had been resolved that the extent of his journey should be to Poole, in Dorsetshire, and to come back by Salisbury homeward to Hampton Court; fifty pounds of gold was coined, of the new standard, to carry about in the progress. On this occasion the king paid a visit to Lord Pembroke, at Wilton.

Northumberland had now succeeded in bringing the country into a state of great discontent; the position of things is thus described by Strype: "The Court was very corrupt and extremely covetous, especially towards the declining of the king's reign: raking continually from the king (who was fain to borrow), for the enriching of themselves, and making prey also of one another." He also speaks of Pembroke in the following terms: "Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, now grew great, having been lately advanced from a commoner to a nobleman, specially since the conspiracy of the Duke of Somerset, wherein it was pretended, that he, together

with the Duke of Northumberland and the Marquis of Northampton his brother-in-law, should have been assassinated; whereby he became linked in with those two overtopping men. He was made president of the Council for the Marches of Wales in 1552. And in this last year of the king, he made two great purchases of land and lordships from the crown, which cost him upwards of £1800. He was made the first and chief of a commission to view and survey all church goods, plate, furniture, &c., belonging to any church, chapel, or guild, in the county of Chester. The king also bestowed upon him the office of keeping the forests and parks of Claringdon, Pauncet, Buckholt, and Melthurst, in Wilts; to him and his son for their lives. And he obtained, as of the king's gift, the manor of Dungate, in Somersetshire, with other lands and possessions."[1]

As the health of the king was visibly declining, Northumberland began to prepare his scheme for diverting the succession. There were rumours of disagreement at the council board. It was said that Lord Pembroke had desired to leave London, and had been compelled forcibly to remain. However that may be, Pembroke joined Northumberland in his plans, for the startling announcement

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[1] Strype, Ecc. Mem., vol. ii., p. 74. It is difficult to arrive at any exact estimate of the grants made on the part of the crown to Lord Pembroke during the reign of Edward VI. Mr. Froude credits him with having received a larger share than any other member of the Council, and refers to a report made to Parliament on the accession of Mary, professing to give the particulars of the various gifts made by Edward to his ministers. This document is evidently drawn up with the intention of giving as little information as possible. In this report (State Papers, Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. 19) there are thirteen entries of grants to Lord Pembroke, including some exchanges and purchases, but in only some cases are the values given, and the exact localities are in no instances mentioned. The grant of the 10th October, 1551, on the occasion of Pembroke's advancement to the peerage (Particulars for Grants, Exchequer, Court of Augmentation, 5th Edw. VI., Sect. iv.), refers to the rents reserved originally on the Wilton and other estates by Henry VIII. Also to Baynard's Castle, of which he had previously been "keeper of the same by virtue of letters patent to him thereof made." Also to the manor of Bishopston, formerly a possession of the late Bishop of Winchester.

On Gardiner's return to power in the time of Queen Mary, he did not fail to remind Pembroke, at the first meeting of the council, that he was in possession of estates which had been taken from the see of Winchester.

was soon after made that Lord Guildford Dudley, fourth son of Northumberland, a boy of seventeen, had married the Lady Jane Grey; and Pembroke's eldest son, the still more youthful Lord Herbert, her sister, the Lady Katharine. According to the will of Henry VIII., it will be remembered that these sisters Grey were next heirs to the crown, after his own children. That the duke had secured a powerful supporter in the Earl of Pembroke, was no longer doubted. The king rapidly got worse, and died July 6th, 1553. The announcement of her succession to the throne was made to the Lady Jane by Northumberland, attended by Pembroke and others. The Earl of Pembroke, as he approached, knelt to kiss her hand. A very few days sufficed to show that Northumberland's attempt to change the succession by implicating the members of the council was of no avail, the popular feeling was running strongly against him, and Mary's accession was secured. This marriage—in form only—between Lord Herbert and the lady Katharine Grey was hastily broken off and declared invalid.[1] Her destiny, however,

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[1] There are several later accounts of this quasi-marriage, most of them incorrect in some particulars. Sir Robert Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia, 1641, says, "By the letter written [by Pembroke] uppon his sonn's marriage with the Lady Katharine Gray, he had like utterly to have lost himselfe; but at the instant of consummation as apprehending the unsafety and danger of intermarriage with the blood royall, he fell at the queen's feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause and the divorce together. So quick was he at his worke, that in the time of repudiation of the sayd Lady Gray, he clapt up a marriage for his son, the Lord Herbert, with Mary Sidney, daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland; the blow falling on Edward, Earl of Hertford, who, to his cost, took up the divorced Lady."

Sir Robert Naunton has placed this event, of the first marriage, in the reign of Elizabeth, instead of Mary; he also confuses the second and third marriages of Lord Herbert.

Dugdale, in his Baronage (vol. 2, p. 258) also gives an account of the circumstances connected with the marriage, and quotes the statement of Sir Robert Naunton, but in his MS. additions to the Baronage (Collectanea Topographia et Genealogica, vol. 2, p. 180) he says, "In this passage Sr Rob. Naunton is somewhat mistaken; for certain it is that upon the repudiation of the Lady Katharine Grey, being not ignorant of Queen Mary's great affection to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, he marryed this his son Henry to Katharine, the daughter of that Earle: which Katharine shortly after departing this life, he speedily matcht himself to Mary, the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, Kn^{t} of the Garter, by Mary

was still connected with Wiltshire; she was some years afterwards married clandestinely to Lord Hertford, son of Protector Somerset, and now lies buried with her husband in Salisbury Cathedral, where a magnificent monument was erected to their memory.

The popular will having been so strongly expressed in favor of Mary, Pembroke did not hesitate to take an active part in the movement. On the 19th July, Winchester, Arundell, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, and others, who were still under the eyes of the Tower garrison, found means of passing the gates, and made their way to Pembroke's residence at Baynard's Castle; where they sent for the Lord Mayor and other magistrates of the city. The meeting was first addressed by Arundell, who said the country was on the brink of civil war, and if they continued to support the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey to the crown, civil war would inevitably break out, and so lead to the interference of France and Spain. Pembroke rose next. The words of Lord Arundell, he said, were true and good, and not to be gainsaid. What others thought he knew not; for himself he was so convinced, that he would fight in the quarrel with any man; and if words are not enough, he cried, flashing his sword out of the scabbard, "this blade shall make Mary queen, or I will lose my life." [1]

The lords, accompanied by the mayor and heralds, went to the cross at Cheapside, to proclaim Mary queen. Pembroke himself stood out to read; and this time there was no reason to complain of a silent audience. He could utter but one sentence before his voice was lost in the shout of joy which thundered into the air. "God save the Queen" rung out from ten thousands of throats. "God save the Queen," cried Pembroke himself, when he had done, and

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his wife, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; by which he did no lesse endeavour to ingratiate himself with the Lord Robert Dudley [one of the sons of that Duke, and afterwards Earl of Leicester], who at that time began to grow powerfull at court; than by the former, to insinuate himself with Duke Dudley, the great man of his time."

The marriage of Lord Herbert, however, with Katharine, daughter of Lord Shrewsbury, did not take place till some ten years afterwards, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Froude's History of England, chap. 30,

flung up his jewelled cap and tossed his purse among the crowd.[1]

Pembroke was one of the twelve mourners at the funeral of King Edward, at Westminster, according to the ritual of the Church of England; Mary having been with difficulty persuaded to abandon her intention of having a mass for the dead celebrated there. The queen's residence in the Tower had already become irksome to her as she was still surrounded by thousands of armed men, the levies of Derby and Hastings, and the retainers of Pembroke, Arundell, and Bedford. Pembroke absented himself from the presence; he was required to return and to reduce the number of his followers. Lord Derby complained to Renard, the envoy of the Emperor Charles V., that those who had saved her crown were treated with neglect, while men like Arundell, Pembroke, and Bedford, who had been parties to the treasons against her, remained in power. Lord Russell was soon after placed under arrest, Pembroke and Winchester were ordered to keep their houses, and the court was distracted with suspicion, discord, and uncertainty.

The Queen restored the Roman ritual without delay, but some precautions were necessary. The late king had been buried on August 8th. We learn from Foxe, that on Sunday, August 20th, Dr. Watson, the Bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the Marquis of Winchester, Pembroke, Bedford, and Rich; from a contemporary letter we also learn that "thear was 120 of the garde that stoode round aboute the crosse with their halberds to gard the preacher and to apprehend them that would stuire." Pembroke was also present at the

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[1] Events passed rapidly in those days. Pembroke was godfather to a child of Underhill's, the hot gospeller. The account of the christening is given by Strype (Ecc. Mem., vol. 2, p. 180), "In the days of King Edward he [Underhill] was of such good esteem and so well known and beloved by the nobility, that having a son born during the short reign of Queen Jane, she was godmother, and named him after her husband's name, Guildford; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's lady being deputy, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke godfathers. Immediately after the christening was done, Queen Mary was proclaimed in Cheapside, the deputy godmother returning to the Tower to wait upon her lady, found the cloth of state taken down, and all things defaced belonging to Jane as queen, and she, as well as her mistress, made prisoners."

coronation of the queen, which took place on October 1st of the same year.

The question of the Spanish marriage and Mary's determination to suppress Protestantism speedily led to disunion in the Council; Gardiner was the only statesman in the country who thought a return to Catholic union practicable or desirable; while there was scarcely an influential family, titled or untitled, which was not, by grant, or purchase, in possession of confiscated Church property. Aubrey's story of the return of the nuns to Wilton on the accession of Mary, and of their subsequent dismissal in Elizabeth's time in the coarse language attributed to Pembroke, is purely imaginary. One of the first things done by the Commons after Mary's accession was to come to an understanding that lay owners of Church lands should not be disturbed in their tenure under any pretence whatever; nor had the queen at any time afterwards power to alter this decision.

Although Wilton was not invaded by the nuns, it was disturbed by local quarrels, notably by Lord Stourton's servants, as appears by the following extract of a letter addressed to the Council, dated August 19th, 1553:—[1] "And towching the mattre betwene the Earle of Pembroke's servantes and the Lorde Sturtons, what is all redy [? known to] you, my Lorde of Norffolk can well declare. This afternoone we will travail to the best of our poures to make a parfight ende thereof." The exact cause of the quarrel does not appear, it probably arose from some jealousy on the part of Lord Stourton, who belonged to the old Catholic party, and whose restless tendencies are too well known, from his quarrel with, and subsequent murder of the Hartgills, at Kilmington.[2] The state of things at

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[1] State Papers, Domestic, Mary, vol. i., No. 9.

[2] Lord Stourton was executed at Salisbury for this offence. Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, gives an account of an attempt on the part of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, and the High Sheriff, Sir Anthony Hungerford, to evade the receipt of a reprieve or pardon which was said to have been brought down to Wilton on the night previous to the execution by Lord Stourton's son. This improbable story has been shewn by Canon Jackson to be incorrect and most probably untrue, in his account of Lord Stourton and the Hartgills. (*Wilts Mag.*, vol. viii., p. 260.)

this time can be very well understood from a passage in Aubrey :— "Wm., 1st E. of Pembroke being a stranger in our country [Wilts] and an upstart, was much envyed, and in those days of sword and buckler, noblemen, and also great Knights, as the Longs, &c., when they went to the assizes or sessions at Salisbury, &c., had a great number of retainers following them, and there were in those days, feuds—*e.g.*, quarrells and animosities, between great neighbours. Particularly this new Earle was much envyed by the then Lord Sturton, of Sturton, who when he went or returned from Sarum (by Wilton was his rode), would sound his trumpetts, and give reproachfull challenging words. T'was a relique of Knight errantry."[1]

The marriage of the queen with Philip of Spain was deferred owing to the strong opposition which found vent in Wyatt's rebellion. The queen rode boldly into London and appealed to the citizens. In St. Paul's Churchyard she met Pembroke and slightly bowed as she passed him. Gardiner, more demonstrative, was observed to stoop to his saddle. When Wyatt was thundering at the gates, Mary was advised to take shelter instantly at Windsor. The lords were divided. Gardiner insisted again that she must and should go; the others were uncertain, or inclined to the advice of Renard, the emperor's envoy, that she should stay. At last Mary said that she would be guided by Pembroke and Clinton. If those two would undertake to stand by her, she would remain and see out the struggle. They were not present, and were sent for on the spot. Pembroke for weeks past had certainly wavered; Lord Thomas Grey believed at one time that he had gained him over, and to the last felt sure of his neutrality. Happily for Mary, he decided on supporting the queen, and promised to defend her with his life. At four o'clock in the morning drums went round the city, calling the train-bands to an instant muster at Charing Cross. Pembroke's conduct determined the young lords and gentlemen about the court, who with their servants were swiftly mounted and under arms ; and by eight, more than ten thousand men were brought together. Pembroke's

[1] Lives of Eminent Men, ii., 479.

judicious disposal of his troops and prompt action carried everything before him; the rebellion was now at an end.[1]

Peter Vannes, in his report to the Council of Ten, says "If Lords Pembroke, Clinton, and the other captains could hear how loudly they are commended here, they would think their loyalty sufficiently rewarded."[2]

Two factions, distinctly marked, were now growing in the Council —the party of the statesmen, composed of Paget, Arundell, Pembroke, Lord William Howard, Winchester, &c.—the party of the Church, composed of Gardiner, Petre, Rochester, Jerningham, &c. Divided on all other questions, the rival parties agreed only no longer to oppose the coming of Philip. Egmont, the envoy of Charles V., had brought over presents and promises. Pensions of two thousand crowns had been offered to, and were probably accepted by, the Earls of Pembroke, Arundell, Derby, and Shrewsbury, other peers received a smaller amount. The pensions were large, but, as Renard observed, when Charles seemed to hesitate, several of the recipients were old, and would soon die; and as to the rest, things in England were changing from day to day, and some means would easily be found to put an end to the payments.

On the 6th March, 1554, the ambassadors from Spain were conducted by Pembroke into the presence chamber, and the betrothal took place, Philip being represented by Count Egmont. Mary had still some weeks of uneasiness and depression before her long-expected husband came. Renard wrote that the tempers of men were never worse than at that moment. Gardiner persuaded the queen, perhaps not without reason, that he was himself in danger of being arrested by Paget and Pembroke. On the other hand, twelve noblemen and gentlemen undertook to stand by Mary if she would

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[1] A document in the State Paper Office (Domestic, Philip and Mary, No. 47) gives the names of certain lords and gentlemen who were to be rewarded for acting against the rebels, showing the additions by some person in high place suggesting the manner in which those who had served Queen Mary were to be rewarded. The Earl of Pembroke's name was placed at the head by the same writer. Amongst the Lord Lieutenant's men was included the name of Mr. Penruddock, the standard-bearer.

[2] Venice Archives, 1553-4.

arrest Paget and Pembroke; Winchester and Rochester discussed the feasibility of seizing them, but Lord Howard and the Channel Fleet were thought to present too formidable an obstacle.

At last Mary was gladdened by the announcement of the arrival of the Marquis de las Navas at Plymouth, with the news that the Prince was by that time on his way. The marquis, who was major-domo to the Prince, is described as being "an ancient gentleman about the year of fifty or better, bearing himself very honorably."

The marquis landed at Plymouth on the 1st June, where he was met by Edward Lord Dudley, accompanied by the Earl of Pembroke, for the purpose of conducting him to court. Although Mary had never received a line of sympathy or love from Philip, he had sent her by the hands of the envoy a single diamond with its ornaments, valued at eighty-thousand crowns. An interesting letter is preserved in the Record Office,[1] which I print in full, describing the visit of the envoy with his large retinue and attendants, to Wilton House, on his way to London, and their reception on the route by Pembroke's youthful son, Lord Herbert, and other magnates of the county. It was sent by Lord Dudley to the Council.

"May hytt please youre honors to vnderstand thatt, acordynge to my aduertysementt frome Shaftesburye, the Marques on Sonday laste lay att Wylton the Yerle of Pembrokes howse; ande by the way, cummynge thytherwarde, the sayd Marques was honorably met w^t^ my Lorde Harbartt, who had of hys owne nomber cc horse, gentylmen ande yemen, all well horsed and appoyntted; ande, besydes, the Shryfe of the Shyre, w^t^ the gentyllmen thereof, ande theyre servantes, weere other cc horse; so thatt in the whole they weere fowre hundrethe. And as thys Marques ande Yerle wentt and rode to Wylton theyre weere certeyn cowrses att the hare, whyche was so pleasantt thatt the Marques muche delyted in feyndynge the cowrses so reddelye apoynted. As for the Marques greate cheyre, as well thatt nyght att sowper, as otherwyse att hys brekefaste the nextt day, surely hytt was so abundantt thatt hytt was natt a lyttyll marveyle to consyder thatt so greate a preparacyon cowlde be made in so small a warnynge. Surely the Marques hathe natt a lyttyll marveyled of hys enterteynmentt thatt he had w^t^ my Lord Harbartt—whatt for the meatynge of hyme, hys pastyme by the way, w^t^ hys greate cheyre; ande agayn, the hansomnes and commodyteys of Wylton, w^t^ the goode apoyntementt and the goode fornyture thereof; in all thynges wherof the better hathe nott been seen. Ande surely hytt was natt a lyttyll comfortt to my harte to see all thynges so honorablye vsed for the honor ande servys of the Queenes Maiestey. As for the lyttyll Lorde Harbartt, althoughe he

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Mary, vol. 4, No. 13.

beynge a chylde of yeyres, yett he vsed hyme selfe, rather, lyke a mane; so dyscreatly thatt the Marques dyd muche commende hyme, no less then he was worthey. Thys day the Marques, desyrous to make haste to the Quenes Maiestey, entendeth to be att Gyllford att sowpper; and thys beynge the remouynge day I was desyrous to haue stayed hyme. Yett I hearynge nothynge frome youre honors, thoughtt nott good otherwyse to apoynte hyme; and therefore haue sentt herein enclosed the names of them thatt cume w^t^ the Marques. Theyre nomber of servantes, woone ande other, are natt aboue fyftey. Ande bycawse that thys day the sayd Marques entendeth to send sume of hys companye the nextt way to London, I cowlde natt therefore sende vnto youre honors the full ceyrteyntey; butt fyftey ys the moste. Thys berar, my seruant, ys well practysed and knoen emongst them; wherefore yf hytt may stande w^t^ youre pleasures to apoynte hyme w^t^ the Queenes Maiesteys harbyngar, as well to vnderstand the place where the sayd Marques shallbee, as also to instructe the harbyngars the degrees of them, thatt they may be placed acordyngely. And so hyt may stande w^t^ youre pleasures to retorne my mane w^t^ youre full determynacyon whyther I shall brynge them. So I moste humbly take my leaue. Wrytten att Basynge, my Lorde Tresorar's howse, the xix of Jun.

"Att the commandementt of youre honors
durynge lyfe

"E. Duddeley."

"I beseche youre honors to pardon me thatt I so rudely wrytt vnto youe, by reason wherof thatt I w^t^ my men hathe as muche to doo as we cane turne vs; and natt hauyinge my clerke to wrytt, I was the worse fornyshed. Over and besydes they baylyfes here dysapoynted me in sendynge of thys letter, wherof also I humblye beseeche youe to pardon me."

[*Addressed*]

"To the ryght honorable ande
my especyall goode Lordes, my
Lordes of the Queenes Maiesteys
most honorable pryuey councell
haste poste haste
haste w^t^ all dylygence."

The route from Shaftesbury to Wilton, at that time, would be over the downs, by what is still known as the old Shaftesbury road, and well adapted for "cowrses att the hare." The "lyttle Lorde Harbartt" probably knew the country well; he afterwards established the Salisbury Race over this same district. Aubrey says "This race is of two sorts: the greater, fourteen miles, beginnes at Whitesheet and ends on Harnham-hill, which is very seldom runn, not once perhaps in twenty yeares. The shorter begins at a place called the Start, at the end of the edge of the north downe of the farme of Broad Chalke, and ends at the standing at the hare warren, built

by William, Earle of Pembroke, and is four miles from the Start."[1]

It will not be uninteresting to see what impression of English life was, at this time, made on a foreigner. In the report on England made by Soranzo to the Senate, dated August, 1554,[2] he says, "The nobility, save such as are employed at court, do not habitually reside in the cities, but in their own country mansions, where they keep up very grand establishments, both with regard to great abundance of eatables consumed by them, as also by reason of their numerous attendants, in which they exceed all other nations, so that the Earl of Pembroke has upwards of 1000 clad in his own livery. In these their country residences they occupy themselves with hunting of every description, and with whatever else can amuse or divert them; so that they seem wholly intent on leading a joyous existence, the women being no less sociable than the men, it being customary for them and allowable to go without any regard either alone or accompanied by their husbands to the taverns, and to dine and sup where they please."

Pembroke had no sooner finished his reception of the envoy than he prepared to meet the Prince on his landing. On the 19th July, the Spanish squadron, now joined by the combined fleets of England and Spain, came to anchor in the port of Southampton.[3] On the 23rd of that month, the Earl of Pembroke arrived with a brilliant company of two hundred mounted gentlemen dressed in black velvet and wearing heavy gold chains, to escort the prince to Winchester. He was attended, besides, by a body of English archers, whose tunics of yellow cloth, striped with bars of red velvet, displayed the livery of the house of Aragon. At Winchester the queen was attended by

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[1] Natural History of Wiltshire, part. ii., chapter xv.

[2] State Papers, Venetian, vol. 5, p. 544.

[3] Some particulars of Philip's arrival, not elsewhere recorded, are given in the report made by the French ambassador to his master. (Ambassades de Noailles, iii., 284) It states that when the Marquis de las Navas found that the prince was not far from land, he placed himself in a boat with Lord Herbert, of Cardiff, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, and five other sons of noblemen, and proceeded to the ship in which the prince was; to whom he presented the said English lords to be gentlemen of his chamber, to which he assented very graciously.

almost the entire peerage of England. Pembroke played an important part in the magnificent marriage ceremonial held in that city. Some embarrassment occurred as to the person who should give the queen away—a part of the ceremony which had not been provided for. After a brief conference, it was removed by the Marquis of Winchester and the Earls of Pembroke and Derby coming forward and performing the office in the name of the whole realm, upon which the people gave a great shout, and prayed God to send them joy. Directly the hand of Queen Mary was given to King Philip, the Earl of Pembroke advanced and carried before the bridegroom a sword of state, the symbol of sovereignty, which he had hitherto kept out of sight; the royal pair returned hand-in-hand from the high altar.

The brilliant nuptial ceremonies could not, however, hide the wide-spread discontent. The peers who had collected for the marriage, dispersed to their counties. The Spanish followers of the king were looked upon with the gravest discontent, and it was even rumoured that in the month of September, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Westmoreland contemplated raising a standard of revolt at York. However this may be, it appears that two months later, November 12th, 1554, the king and queen rode in their parliament robes to Westminster, to open Parliament, the Earl of Pembroke bearing the sword of state before the king. At this time Cardinal Pole obtained his long-wished-for permission to return to England as the Pope's legate, and a reconciliation with Rome was effected. In the spring of the following year—1555—the queen, who had strangely persuaded herself that she was about to present the nation with an heir to the throne, wished to celebrate the event by making peace between France and the emperor. For thirty-five years these two great catholic powers had been wrestling with but brief interruption, the advantage to either had been as trifling as their quarrel was insignificant. A conference was therefore agreed upon, in which England was to mediate. A village within the Calais pale was selected as the place of assembly, and Pole, Gardiner, Paget, and Pembroke were chosen to arrange the terms of a general peace, with the Bishop of Arras, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Montmorency.

Disappointment was the result all round. The conference came to nothing, the queen awoke to the melancholy consciousness that she was suffering from a mortal disease, and Philip began to tire of his bride and his newly-adopted country.

All the energies and revenues of the queen had been so exclusively directed to the wants of the Church, that the fortresses of Calais and Guisnes had been neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair. Since the taking of Boulogne the French had never ceased to regard the expulsion of the English as a feat to be accomplished, sooner or later. In a letter written in cipher from Michieli, Venetian Ambassador to the Doge and Senate, dated March 12th, 1555,[1] he says "The king having sent in haste last week for the Earl of Pembroke, one of the chief noblemen of England, who, as usual with him, was living in retirement at his country seat, 60 miles hence;[2] his sudden appearance in London caused a very general report of its being induced by war with France." He afterwards finds "that the object of Pembroke's mission was to superintend the fortifications of Guisnes, and to give advice to the deputy at Calais; Lord Wentworth's youth and inexperience might encourage the French to attack those places, should the queen's confinement terminate inauspicially."

Five days after this, Frederico Badoer, Venetian Ambassador with Charles V., writes to the Doge and Senate:[3] "The Earl of Pembroke who is considered the chief personage in England, having more followers there than anybody, has arrived at Calais with only six servants, bringing letters from the king and queen for the warder, desiring him to obey the Earl's orders. He has not said a word about the cause of his coming, which there and here has caused much comment. Many suppose, that to facilitate the peace with his most Christian Majesty, the emperor induced the queen to send Lord Pembroke because the French hold him in great esteem." On his way from Wilton, to execute his commission at Calais, he assisted

[1] State Papers, Venetian, 1555-1556, No. 24.

[2] Not sixty miles, but eighty-three; this mistake, however, is not remarkable in a foreigner living in England at that time.

[3] Venetian State Papers, 1555-1556, No. 31.

at the consecration of Cardinal Pole as Archbishop of Canterbury. This took place on Passion Sunday, 1555, in the conventual Church of the Grey Friars, at Greenwich. The archbishop took his oath to the pope in the parlour, the queen being present. Pembroke was there with other officials, as he was again a few days afterwards at Bow Church, which was "hanged with cloth of gold and with rich arras, and laid with curtains, for the coming of the Lord Cardinal Pole."

Pembroke's stay at Calais did not exceed two months, the reasons for his sudden return are learnt in a letter from Giovanni Michieli to the Doge and Senate, dated May 6th, 1555.[1] In these communications it was usual to write important political matter in cipher; the passage printed in italics was so written. "The Earl of Pembroke has been unexpectedly recalled from Calais, he expecting to remain there some time, having sent for his wife, who was already on her way. Persons the best informed attribute this return solely to King Philip's wish to have him about his person at the time of this delivery, relying greatly, let happen what may, on his fidelity and power, and on being able to make better use of him here than across the Channel; and should it be necessary to make any provision, *either by covertly mustering troops, as has apparently been ordered, or for anything else,* through his numerous followers, he will be able to do it better than all the others."

Four days later we have another instance of how all minute particulars were forwarded to foreign courts by their representatives, also the fact that Pembroke did not know any other language than his own. Badoer writes to the Doge and Senate, "The Earl of Pembroke, who was at Calais, having been appointed third commissioner for the Queen of England, has crossed the Channel on a summons from the king; some persons say because the ministers know him to be unfit for this negociation, as he neither speaks nor understands any other language than the English. Others are of opinion that the king and Queen wish to have him near them in case of any accident in those parts, he being their Majesties

[1] Venetian State Papers, 1555-1556, No. 72.

lieutenant, a faithful subject, and one who has very great authority in that kingdom." [1]

Soon after his return from Calais, we find Pembroke attending the obsequies of the Queen of Spain, the king's grandmother, at St. Paul's; where "the hearse set up was the goodliest ever seen in England; the bare frame whereof, the work of the carpenter, cost £15. After mass, a great dinner at the Bishop of London's place, with great plenty."

Mary's strange hallucination having now become apparent, she fell into a depressed state; persecution, distrust, and famine had caused grievous discontent; Philip was now only desirous to return to Flanders, nor had he long to wait for the opportunity.

In the autumn of 1555 the king received a summons from his father to leave England and join him in Flanders; the cause of this sudden movement was one that filled the Castilians, as it did all Europe, with astonishment—the proposed abdication of Charles V. On the 4th September Philip made his entry into Calais and soon after resumed his journey with his splendid train of Castilians and English nobles, amongst whom were the Earls of Arundell, Pembroke and Huntingdon. On the road they were met by a military escort, sent by his father, and so entered Brussels, where the emperor and and his court were eagerly awaiting them. The royal party dismounted at the casino near the Louvain Gate; the king kneeling before his father, begging permission to kiss his hand. He then called by name the Admiral, Lord William Howard, the Earls of Arundell and Pembroke, and some other English gentlemen, and presented them to the emperor, who received them joyfully, but did not allow them to kiss his hand, it being his wont never to give it to such as are not his own subjects.[2]

The year 1556 opened inauspiciously. The Dudley conspiracy had come to nothing, but disaffection had penetrated deeply, not only amongst the people, but into the English garrisons in France, where the French were still waiting for their opportunity. The

[1] Venetian State Papers, 1555-1556, No. 77.

[2] State Papers, Venetian, 1555-1556, No. 214.

catholic party had not a soldier among them, Pembroke himself went over in command with reinforcements and supplies, in time to save Calais for a few more months. The date of his departure, we learn from Strype, was November 25th, "The Earl of Pembroke took his barge for Calais."

In March, 1557, Philip paid his last visit to England for a few weeks, not for the pleasure of seeing the queen, but to make arrangements for an English contingent to join his forces in an attack on the French. The council gave their reluctant consent, and seven thousand men were to cross the Channel and join Pembroke in the Low Countries. The outward show of the "pomp and circumstance" of war, was not disregarded. Heralds belonging to the sovereign receive gowns of the colours of the livery of the generals, upon whom they were ordered to attend, at the expense of the crown. In a warrant to the Wardrobe, in 1557, in which same year Chester Herald and Portcullis Pursuivant had blue guarded with red, being then appointed to attended upon the Earl of Pembroke, Captain-General of the army against France.[1]

Philip prepared for the campaign at Brussels; he had collected a large army, which he placed under the command of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, this was to be joined by the English contingent. Philibert, after having succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy, and leading them to expect him in Champagne, turned suddenly into Picardy, and invested the town of St. Quentin. The French, under the Constable Montmorency, were taken at a disadvantage; before they could recover themselves their defeat had become irretrievable. The Constable himself, the Duke of Montpensier, several hundred gentlemen—some of the best blood of France—and thousands of soldiers, were taken in a victory almost bloodless for the victors. The English do not seem to have taken any part in the battle, they only arrived in force two days after the engagement. They now eagerly coveted the opportunity for distinction which had been denied them at the battle of St. Quentin, but there was little more to be done than to share, with the allied armies, the

[1] Anstis' Order of the Garter, vol. i., p. 446.

sack and pillage of the place, which was defended by the brave Admiral Coligny.

Montmorency was a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards: on the king's arrival at the camp after the battle, the Duke of Savoy laid at his feet the banners and other trophies of the fight. It is probable that the several fine suits of armour taken from the Constable Montmorency, the Duke of Montpensier, and others, now placed in the entrance-hall of Wilton House, as tokens of the battle of St. Quentin, were then given.

In truth the English gained but little honour in this war, and the Pembrokes have more reason to be proud of the association of the name of St. Quentin with their family through the Parr descent, than from any glory acquired at the battle of St. Quentin. Pembroke was on this occasion accompanied by his eldest son and attended by one Richard Hurleston, who, as we learn from Strype, was a man of strong Protestant tendencies, servant first to Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards Lord High Admiral—serving him in the place of a gentleman—and subsequently in a similar capacity the Earl of Pembroke at St. Quentin. "And from thence was sent with the charge and government of the Lord Herbert (son and heir of the said Earl) to Doway, where they remained, till the lord his father came thither. And so they went home, and then he (Hurleston) went into his own country, where he remained till the death of Queen Mary."[1] Sir George Penruddocke, ancestor of the Penruddockes of Compton, was also present in this campaign, as standard-bearer to the Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards attended his funeral in a similar capacity.

The French had not long to wait for retaliation. Mary had again fallen into a morbid state of ill-health, and the English garrisons on French soil were still in a deplorably weak state. The

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[1] This connection seems to have continued. In a letter from Chester, dated December 20th, 1567, from Ric. Hurleston to the Earl of Pembroke, he "Gives intelligence by good information, of great preparations making by the King of Spain for the invasion of England. Certain gentlemen in Lancashire have taken a solemn oath not to come to the communion, and they rejoice greatly at the report of a Spanish invasion." (State Papers, Domestic Series, 1567.)

arrival of the army under Pembroke, a few months before, had removed the immediate ground for alarm, and after the defeat of the French the danger was supposed to be over altogether. Guise, however, made a vigorous attack, and no reinforcements being sent in time, Calais fell into the hands of the French in January, 1558. This blow, in her then state of health, proved fatal to the queen; she died in November of this year.

The Lady Elizabeth was at her seat at Hatfield, when Queen Mary died; thither some great personages forthwith repaired to her, namely, the Earl of Pembroke, Clinton, Arundell, Cecil, and others, where they sat in this, her first, Privy Council. On the 23rd November she removed towards London, attended by a thousand or more lords, knights, gentlemen, ladies, &c. Lord Pembroke carried the queen's sword in the procession. One of the first acts of Elizabeth was her direction to a body of divines to revise the prayer book, and take from it that sectarian character which, in its latest form, it had assumed. Pembroke and others, with Cecil at their head, formed a committee of council to consult privately with the queen.

The accession of Elizabeth was welcomed by all parties, and for a time, at least, her popularity was unbounded. On April 25th, 1559, "The Queen in the afternoon went to Baynard's Castle, the Earl of Pembroke's place, and supped with him, and after supper she took a boat and was rowed up and down the river Thames, hundreds of boats and barges rowing about her, and thousands of people thronging at the water side to look upon her majesty, rejoicing to see her, and partaking of the music and sights in the Thames, for the trumpets blew, drums beat, flutes played, guns were discharged, squibs hurled up into the air as the queen moved from place to place. And this continued till ten of the clock at night, when the queen departed home."[1] At this time it was customary for Her Majesty to give and receive presents from her nobility on New Year's Day. On the 1st January, 1561-2, the Earl of Pembroke offered a purse of black silk and silver knit, with £30 in new angells. In return he received "oone guilte bolle or

[1] Strypes' Annals.

spice plate with a cover, given to the Queen her Majestie by Mr. John Astley, Master and Treasurer of her Jewels and Plate, 31 oz.; and one guilt cup with a cover 18½ oz." This bowl, presented by Astley, is mentioned as "given to the Earl of Pembroke eodem die." At the same time the Countess of Pembroke offered "a cherry bag of crymson satten with £15 in new angells;" and received from the queen, "oone guilt cup with a cover 27¼ oz."[1]

In the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign Pembroke seems to have acted a good deal with Cecil, with whom he held strong views in favour of reformation in religion. When the queen sent Cecil to Scotland in May, 1560, to make a treaty of peace with the French, he went unwillingly, not knowing what influences might be brought to bear on Elizabeth during his absence. Sir Henry Killigrew writes, "Pembroke, Clinton, and Norfolk were true to him, but other friends had he none; I know that none can love their country better than Mr. Cecil: I would the Queen's Majesty could love it so well." The treaty having been signed, Lord Clinton writes to Cecil, that "no better service had ever been done to England; Lord Pembroke is your very good friend. Touching the matter of Scotland, he remaineth firm and sure as in the beginning without change or alteration, and hath hitherto stayed his going from the court until he might hear of a final order of the matter of your commissioner, which now he heareth to be such as is much to his contentation." At the foot of the letter Pembroke adds his signature to that of Clinton, who must have shewn Pembroke what he had written. The Scots were anxious to supplement this treaty by inducing Elizabeth to marry the Earl of Arran, and so counteract the French Catholic interest centred in Mary Stuart; the commissioners sent from Scotland for this purpose were entertained with marked hospitality by Pembroke and Bedford, who, with all their friends, looked on this proposed marriage as a necessity.

Pembroke himself was laid up with a serious illness at this time. In June, 1560, Lord Robert Dudley writes to the Earl of Essex to that effect, "The Erle of Pembroke is at Hendon, and as yet dare not his physicians assure his recovery."

[1] Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., p. 108.

During the summer of 1561 the Irish, with Shan O'Neil at their head, worsted the English forces under Sussex. To such an extent was intrigue and faction rife at the court of Elizabeth at this time, that Cecil declared that Lord Pembroke seemed to be the only nobleman whose patriotism could be depended on; and in Pembroke's absence there was not a person—"no," Cecil reiterated, "not one, who did not either wish so well to Shan O'Neil or so ill to the Earl of Sussex as rather to welcome the news than regret the English loss."

Soon after this, Cecil was out of favour with the queen, and proposed to retire from the public service; in this he was joined by Pembroke, the cause being, the expectation that Elizabeth would marry Lord Robert Dudley. The queen was then believed to be so infatuated, that a powerful party was moving to prevent it. The secret mover was supposed to have been Cecil, he fearing that Elizabeth was about to abandon the Reformation. As long as the queen remained unmarried the question of the succession was always uppermost, each faction had an eye to a possible candidate. The Spanish ambassador had been coquetting with Katharine Grey for a husband in the interest of Spain.

At this time we find the following passage in a letter from Sir Henry Neville to Throckmorton, the queen's ambassador at Paris, dated June 28th, 1561, "*My Lord of Pembrok cannot yeat bryng hys purpos to passe, for my lady Cateryn wyll not have his son,* and whatsoever ys the cawse I know not, but the Quen ys entryd in to a great mislyking w^t^ her. . . . for that I am goyng into Wylsher, I do as well aquyt you for wrytyng as my self tyl my retorn."[1]

There can be little doubt that this refers to Lady Katharine Grey, whose sudden marriage to Pembroke's eldest son, and its equally sudden repudiation, about the time of King Edward's death, has already been referred to. The Lady Katharine had some months previously been married secretly to Lord Hertford; the cause of the queen's misliking her was soon made known. John Somer writes to Throckmorton, "On Sept. 26, the Lady Catharine was brought abed in the Tower of a boy. Lord Hertford and she agree upon the

[1] State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 1561, 1562, No. 272.

time, place, and company of their marriage, but cannot bring either witness or minister. They must either find out the minister, or determine what the law will say, if it be a marriage or no. The matter lies chiefly, notwithstanding all determination, in the Queen's mercy."[1] Some persons of high rank were suspected to have been concerned in the disposal of the hand of the Lady Katharine; for if the queen married Lord Robert Dudley, as was feared, a revolution was expected to follow, and she would then form the nucleus of a new party. A single glance below the surface when the explosion came satisfied Elizabeth that it was dangerous to look further. The queen wreaked her anger on the unlucky pair who had offended her; they were kept for many years in the Tower, but their treatment there was not so harsh as has been generally supposed, as we learn from the interesting account of their lives in Canon Jackson's paper on Wulfhall and the Seymours, already mentioned.

It seems incredible that Pembroke should have contemplated renewing the marriage of his son with the Lady Katharine Grey; it is just possible that the passage in the letter might refer to some proposal of a projected marriage which actually took place some eighteen months after, between his son, Lord Herbert, and Lady Katharine Talbot, as appears from a letter, dated February, 1563, from Sir John Mason to Sir Thomas Chaloner, "The Earle of Shrewsburie's sonne and heyre hath marryed with the Earle of Pembrook's daughter, and the Earle of Pembrook's sonne and heyre hath married with the Earle of Shrewsburie's daughter." This double marriage took place at Baynard's Castle. Machin, in his diary, says that there was afterwards as great a dinner as had ever been seen, and this was continued for four days, and every night there were great mummeries and masques. This was Francis Talbot, son and heir of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who married Anne, the only daughter of Lord Pembroke, and died in his father's lifetime. Lord Herbert's married life with the Lady Katharine Talbot[2] was of short duration; he afterwards espoused Mary Sidney.

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[1] Foreign Series, Eliz., 1561, 1562, No. 540.

[2] On the occasion of Lady Katharine Talbot's marriage, her father enforced the ancient feudal right of receiving a benevolence from his tenants as *ayde pour*

This was not the first connection of the Herberts with the Talbots, Lord Pembroke himself, after the death of his first wife, Anne Parr, had married Anne, daughter of George, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, widow of Peter Compton, ancestor of the present Northampton family. Of this marriage there was no issue; this lady lived till 1588, and was buried at Erith, in Kent.

It was not only in military affairs that Pembroke was employed by the queen. After the fall of Calais great distress was prevalent amongst the merchant staplers, petitions for relief were sent to the Government, and these were referred to the Earl of Pembroke to report upon. He was also, with many others, interested in the commercial ventures of this period; the command of the sea and the restless spirit of adventure abroad was beginning to lay the foundation of the commercial prosperity of England. In March, 1563, a warrant was issued for delivery of the ship *Jesus* of Lubeck, lent by the queen to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Dudley and others for a voyage. In October 1565, certificates are granted by officers of the Admiralty for allowing the acceptance of £500 for use of the ship *Jesus*, now returned, which had been granted to the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, for a voyage to the coasts of Africa and America.

About this time Pembroke's health began again to fail, in Sept., 1564. Clough, in a letter to Chaloner, says, "The Earl of Pembroke lies at God's mercy." And again, in a letter written by Pembroke to Leicester and Cecil, from Basingstoke, he alludes to his own ill health. In the summer of 1567 the distress amongst the manufacturers of the Low Countries was so great that they applied to Pembroke and Cecil in their extremity, and several manufactures were introduced into this country. There is a tradition that carpet

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fille marier. See a letter of his on the subject, dated from Coldharbour, March 1562-3, in Lodge's Illustrations of British History, i. 348; followed by an account of the sums collected in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby, which amounted to £321 7*s*. 6*d*. This was one of the many services anciently exacted from tenants in capite; it could only be claimed on the marriage of the eldest daughter of the lord, in like manner as the *ayde pour filz Chevalier* was on the knighthood of the eldest son. These tenures were abolished by the Act, 12th Charles II.

weaving was established at Wilton by one of the Earls of Pembroke. If there is any truth in the tradition it might have taken place at this time. There are many letters preserved in the State Paper Office of this period which prove the commercial activity prevalent amongst all classes. In one, dated 1565, Mr. Daniel Hechstetter makes offers touching his suit and petition for privileges of water-works, for draining mines, &c., to form a company for the same, and to give certain shares to the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, Sir William Cecil, and others. In the following year a letter is written by the same noblemen to the Merchant Adventurers, requesting they will promote the lottery established in London by the queen's proclamation, by adventuring for their company in general, and themselves individually. The increase of communication with foreign countries also told on works of art introduced into England. In February, 1567, one Dominicque Troisrieux, a Frenchman, brought certain works of marble jasper into England for Sir William Cecil and the Earl of Pembroke. They do not seem to have been works of high art, but are described as "one door of marble jasper, one other of white marble, eight great tables, &c."[1] Frenchmen seem to have had the same difficulty in those days of writing English proper names as they have in our own times; in the original document my Lord Pembroke's name appears under the guise of "millort penbrout."

The year 1569 was an unquiet time for Pembroke. He, with a majority of the Lords, was restless under the ascendancy of Cecil, believing the country to be in a critical state, and not a little danger to be apprehended from the conflicting schemes in favour of Mary Stuart. He took an active part in the plot for making a match between Norfolk and the captive queen of Scots, in which he was joined by Leicester and Arundell. This was done secretly, and on Pembroke's part in perfectly good faith, but Elizabeth had already got the threads of the conspiracy into her own hands, and Leicester hastened to purchase forgiveness by abandoning his colleagues; Norfolk was sent to the Tower, Pembroke was, for a time, under arrest at Windsor, and he was ordered to forbear coming to court. An examination of the noblemen implicated was undertaken by the

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1567, vol. 42, No. 19.

remaining members of the Council, the full particulars of which are preserved in the Burghley papers. Pembroke avowed his desire for the Norfolk marriage, and did not shrink in any way from the responsibility of having advised it. So far as the lords had acted together, they had done nothing which could be termed disloyal, and Pembroke, both with dignity and success, defended the integrity of his own intentions.

Later in the year a serious attempt was made at an insurrection in the North of England, by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the intention of releasing the Queen of Scots; this made it necessary to raise a southern force without delay.

At this time Pembroke, as Lord Steward, wrote a letter to the queen, vindicating his loyalty, "From my poore Howse at Wilton, the 5th December, 1569." After complaining "how my Name is moast falselye and wickedly abused by the wicked Protestation of those two traiterous Erles," he goes on to say, "I have according to your Majesties Commandment, in parte answered the Matter by my Letters to my Lords of the Counsill. But in fuller satisfaction thereof, I do reverently before God, and humbly before your Majestie protest, that in all my Lief I was never privey to somuche as a Mocion of any Attempt, either of these banckerupt Erles, or of anie Mans ells, against either Religion (in defence whereof onelye I am redie to spill my blood) or yet your Majesties Estate or Person; and that I am ready against them and all Traitors to make good with my Bodie, when and howsoever it shall please your Majestie to commande: For God forbid that I shoulde lieve the Houre, now in myne olde Age, to staine my former Lief with a Spott of Disloyaltie."[1]

With graceful confidence the queen accepted his offer, and named him at once general of an army of reserve. The insurrection, however, failed, and Pembroke's services were not required. This was the last public act of his life. His end was now approaching; "life's fitful fever o'er," he was no longer concerned in the plots and counter-plots which still continued to harass the queen's government. He died at Hampton Court, on March 17th, 1570, and thus closed his eventful and restless career at the age of sixty-three.

[1] Haynes' State Papers, p. 568.

He was engaged to the last in the political complications of that feverish period. Camden, speaking of his death, says, "presaging some disaster to himself he departed this life in his climacterical year. An excellent man, who was in a manner the Raiser of his his own Fortunes. Under Queen Elizabeth he was made Great Master of the Household; whose Favour he lost, for a time, for that (though with no ill Meaning nor bad Intent) he was a great fartherer of Norfolk's Marriage with the Queen of Scots: and he missed but little of having been proscribed after he was dead, by means of certain matters then brought to light, and some strong Presumptions against him." [1]

In a gossipping letter from Sir F. Englefield to the Duchess of Feria, dated from Louvain, April, 1570, he says, "Lord Pembroke is dead in Court; a great loss to many, and a gain to some; all of the faction of Lord Hertford's children triumph at his death. The Queen of Scots, Duke of Norfolk, and Earl of Leicester have lost much thereby."

Aubrey's statement that "he could neither read nor write but had a stamp for his name," could hardly have been correct. It was not uncommon at that period for letters to be written by secretaries, and the documents signed only by the sender; the correspondence carried on by Pembroke must have been very considerable, it will be seen that two secretaries attended his funeral. That "he was of good naturall parts, but very colorique," is probably true enough. The long examination of Sir William Herbert, on the articles touching Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, during his many visits to that prelate in the Tower, shows that his power of argument and aptitude for business were of no mean order.

Pembroke did not escape in his own day the charge of being a temporiser. Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, in his treatise of Politic Power, probably alludes to him and some others as being notable examples. That he was in some matters unscrupulous, and that he benefited largely by the opportunities offered of the constant confiscations of both ecclesiastical and civil property, is well known; but in this he did little more than his contemporaries; he must be

[1] Camden's History of Elizabeth, ii book.

judged by the standard of his own day rather than by that of our own. The enormous political changes which took place in England during the period of Pembroke's life were not worked out without great difficulties and perplexities at the time; we now see the results; but "if the results were inevitable, the characters which assisted to produce those results were inevitable also." Undoubtedly the revolutions of these eventful reigns were productive to him of continued accession of power and wealth, for his peculiar characteristic was pliancy.

Of Pembroke's personal appearance, Aubrey says, "He was strong sett, but bony, reddish favoured, of a sharpe eie, sterne looke." There are several portraits of him extant, the best authenticated is a silver medallion, dated 1562, at the age of fifty-six. It is by Stevens, of Holland, who was an excellent medallist as well as painter of portraits, a copy of it is given at the head of this paper. The subject on the reverse, with the inscription, *Draco hic verus virtutum custos*—This dragon the true guardian of the virtues—is probably only a complimentary allusion to Pembroke, whose badge was a dragon. A full-length portrait of him accompanied by a dog is now in the library at Wilton House, this is said to be by Holbein, but is not considered so by Dr. Waagen; it was probably painted several years later. Of this picture Aubrey says, "Mem: This Wm. (the founder of his family) had a little cur-dog which loved him, and the E loved the dog; When the Earle dyed the dog would not goe from his masters dead body, but pined away, and dyed under the hearse; the picture of which dog is under his picture in the Gallery at Wilton."

There is a well-engraved portrait of him in Holland's Heroologia, published in 1620, which was probably taken from the preceding picture. A full-length figure of Pembroke is included in the large picture of Edward VI. presenting a charter to Bridewell Hospital: this too has been ascribed to Holbein, by Vertue, but without any truth, as Holbein died several years before the accession of Edward VI. It is believed to have been painted by an artist named Streetes. Another three-quarter painting of him in his declining years, belonging to the Countess Delawarr, was exhibited at the National

Portrait Exhibition, in 1866, incorrectly described in the catalogue as being that of William, the third earl. Besides these, his kneeling figure, clad in armour, and wearing the blue mantle and badge of the order of the Garter, accompanied by his two sons, appears in the stained glass window in Wilton Church, but as the faces are restorations their authenticity is lost.[1]

His last will and testament bears date December 28th, 1569, whereby he orders his body to be buried in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, where Anne, his late wife, lieth interred, if so be he died in or near London; but if he died at Salisbury, his body to be buried in the Cathedral there, with such funeral solemnity as to his estate and calling appertaineth, and directs his executors to bestow yearly, for the space of two years next after his death, £200 to the poor in Baynard castleward in London, Salisbury in Wilts, and Hendon.[2] He bequeaths to his daughter, Anne Talbot, 500 marks in money and jewels, having by assurances and conveyances already advanced her to marriage with the Lord Talbot; and constitutes Henry Lord Herbert, his son, sole executor, charging him to have due consideration to the rest of his children, friends, and servants. He bequeaths to his son, Edward, plate to the value of 500 marks; and appoints over his will, his very good lords and friends, Robert, Earl of Leicester, Master of the Queen's Majesty's Horses, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knights, and Gilbert Gerrard, Esq., the Attorney-General, and to every of them £50, to be delivered either in money, plate, or jewels, within one month.

[1] There seems at one time to have existed a large allegorical picture in which a full-length portrait of Pembroke was painted, together with other figures. It is mentioned by Aubrey in his account of the pictures at Wilton as having been once there, "Here was the Table of Cebes, a very large picture, and done by a great master, which the genius describes to William, the first earl of his family, and lookes on him, pointing to Avarice as to be avoyded by a noble person." (Natural History of Wilts, part ii., chap. ii.) It is noticed again by Gambarini, of Lucca, in his description of the Pembroke pictures, 1731, "There is one remarkable at London sixteen foot long, and nine foot broad, by H. Goltzius, the Table of Cebes of Virtues and Vices, the six figures at bottom are as big as life, one of them is with the Order of the Garter."

[2] The grant of Hendon, in Middlesex, to Lord Pembroke is dated April 9th, 4th Edward VI. It passed to his second son, Sir Edward Herbert, ancestor of the Marquesses of Powis, extinct in 1747. The property was sold soon after this date.

And by a codicil it is mentioned that he declared to the Earl of Leicester, and to his son, Edward Herbert, March, 16th, 1569, late at night (which was just before his death), that the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir James Crofts, and Mr. Secretary Cecil, be joined to his overseers and have the same gifts. He also bequeathed to the Queen's majesty his best jewel, named the Great Ballace, and his fairest and richest bed; and to the Lord Marquis of Northampton his second-best gold sword, and to the Earl of Leicester his best gold sword.

A few days after his death the following letter from the Queen was sent to Lady Pembroke; the rough draft is in the bold handwriting of Cecil, by whom it had been carefully amended and corrected :— [1]

"To ye Countess of Penbrook.

"We grete you well. Althovgh it be grevoos to Vs and most of all vncomfortable to you, to enter into ye memorye of ye loss of so deare and loving a Counsellor to Vs, so honorable a husband to you as our late Coosyn ye Erle of Penbrook was, yet can We not omytt to call to memory his wordyness many wayes whylest he lyved, and his constancy at ye tyme of his deth towardes Almighty God, wherat, as we ar comforted consideryng by Godes ordinance he hath bene called at this tyme and many yeres long passed, so also We require you to moderat your gret sorrow wch We vndoutedly here you do conceave for his deth, w^t^ the lyke consideration of his wordyness whylest he lyved, and of his christian and godly behaviour whan he dyed, being the only thynges that he cold leave behynd hym of most and trewest vallew to comfort them that loved hym. And if you had not now sent on hyther to Vs, We wer determined to have sent one of Our servantes to you w^t^ Our letters to this intent; meaning specially also to have gyven you knolledg how honorably and lovyngly Our Cosyn ye Erle your sonne in law doth offer hymself in all thynges towardes you, expressly sayeng to Vs y^t^ there shall no worldly thyng left to hym by his father move hym to neglect your good will, but y^t^ he will by all manner of meanes labor to kepe you his good mothar as if you wer so to hym by natvre: aand surely We ar fully so perswaded of hym, not only by his owne speche, but ye assurance We conceave of his good natvre, so as We trust ther shall never be any occasion gyven for any other to deale in ye matters betwixt you. But if there shuld be any nede thereof, We wold have you Madame make your assured accompt y^t^ you shall fynd Vs not only, as by Godes callyng We ar, ye protectrix of wydows, but besyde that you shall fynd Vs a deare and lovyng Lady and sister to you in all your resonable casees."

Endorsed : "M. xxij Martij 1569
from the Q. Matie to
the Countesse of Penbroke"

[1] State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 67, No. 28.

Lord Pembroke filled the office of Lord Steward of the Household at the time of his death. He was buried with great state and ceremony in old St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 18th April, 1570. As will be seen from the order of proceeding, his funeral was attended by all the principal members of the Government, as well as by the numerous officers of his own household.

A magnificent monument was erected to him and his first wife, on the north side of the quire; this was subsequently destroyed in the disastrous fire of London, but the details are preserved by an engraving in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral.

"An ordre of Proceedinge at the funerall of the late right Honorable William Erle of Penbrooke one tuisdaye the xviijth daye of Aprill 1570 *

First ij yeomen Conductores withe blacke staves . . . . . viz. George Hale, Robert Hall

The poore men ij and ij C

The Quyre of Pawles

The Precher . . . . . viz. M^{r}. Nowell, Deane of Pawles.

The Standart bearer withe whoode one his heade . . . . . viz. M^{r}. William Morgan of Pencoyde

The Defunctes gentlemen withe hoodes one their heades ij and ij

The ij Secretaryes viz. William Jordane, Phillippe Williams

All Esquyres and Knightes ij and ij

The Defunctes ij chaplaynes

The Bishope of London †

The Defunctes iij cheif officers withe ther whyte staves and hoodes one their shoulders — Mr Higate *Stuard*; Mr Vaughan *Threasorer*; Mr Grove *comptroller*

The banner bearer with his hoode one his heade viz. Sr George Penruddocke Knight

Yorke Herauld with the Defunctes coat Armour careinge his heaulme and creaste.

Chester Herauld to carye the Targe of his Armes.

Richmond Herauld to carye his sworde.

Garter Kinge of Armes to carye his coat of Armes one either syde of him a gentleman Vssher withe whyte roddes with thar hoodes one their heades, one of theim hauinge the Defunctes whyte staffe in a case of leather viz. Roger Earthe‡ and William Aluier

---

* State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 67, No. 64.

† Edmund Grindall.

‡ "Roger Erthe, alias King, Servaunt to Therle of Penbroke, and William Ferror, Servaunt to the

The Corpes caryed bye viij gentlemen with ther hoodes one their heades viz.
- Richard Souche
- Myles Mathewe
- Dauid Moryce
- Thomas Williams of Trickeleake
- Richard Badger
- Anthony Stylman
- Thomas Scudemore
- James Baskervyle

To theire viij yeomen assistantes viz.
- John ap Watkines
- Edward Williams
- Thomas Jones
- Francklyne of Cannones
- Richard Francklyne
- Alexander the rannger
- John Thurchwarde
- Thomas Browne

Fower assistantes to the bodye with ther hoodes one their heades viz.
- Mr Roger Mannors
- Sir Henry Compton* } Knightes
- Sir John Parrot } Knightes
- Sir George Speake } Knightes

iiij Esquyeres to carye the iiij bannerolles about the bodye withe ther hoodes one their heades viz.
- Mr Henneage } Esquyres
- Mr Cary } Esquyres
- Mr Dyer } Esquyres
- Mr Hatton } Esquyres

Cheif mourner . . . . . Henrye Erle of Penbrooke

Two gentlemen Vsshers one eche syde of him with whyte roddes in ther handes and hoodes one ther heades viz.
- William Herbert
- Henry Morgan

The gentlemen of his horsse to cary his Trayne . . . William Jones

---

Lord Sturton, were, for making a Fraye, committed to the Charge of Warden of the Fleete." (Haynes' Burghley Papers, Queen Mary, 19th August, 1553, p. 171.)

This Roger Earth, was probably of Dinton. A short Pedigree of Earth, showing a connection with Dinton for at least two generations is given in the Heralds Visitation of Wilts, taken A.D. 1613. In the chancel of Dinton Church is the following curious epitaph on a brass:—

" From Earth wee came, to Earth wee mvst retvrne;
Wittnes this *Earth* that lyes within this Vrne;
Begott by *Earth*, borne also of *Earth's* wombe;
74 yeares livd *Earth*, now Earth's his Tombe.
In Earth, *Earths* body lyes vnder this stone,
Bvt from this Earth to Heaven *Earth's* soule is gone.
Roger Earth armiger, obiit 3o die Aprilis, 1634."

The person commemorated in the above lines must have been born in the year of Lord Pembroke's death.

* Sir Henry Compton was a son of Lady Pembroke, by her first husband, Peter Compton, of Compton Wyniate.

viij mourners assistantes ij and ij with their hoodes one their heades to and fro } viz. { The Lord Keper * } ij; The Erle of Leicester } ij; Mr Edward Herbert † } ij; Mr Comptroller ‡ } ij; Sr William Cicill } ij; Sr Walter Myldemaye } ij; Sr Nicholas Throckmorton } ij; Mr Gerard attorney generall } ij } Overseeres

Six noble men with ther rolles { my Lord Admiral §; my Lord chamberlayne ||; my Lord Talbot; my Lord Cobham; my Lord Grey of Wilton; my Lord Buckherst }

Three Knightes with their hoodes one their shoulders { Sr Francis Knolles; Sr Ralf Sadler; Sr William Cordall }

Two yeomen Vsshers with whyte roddes to goe before the Defunctes yeomen } viz. { Richard Boothe; John Maynard }

The Defunctes yeomen ij and ij

The seruantes of other noble men and gentlemen mourners ij and ij

The Proceedinge to the offringe as heerafter folowith:

First the cheif mourner, his trayne borne, and all the rest of the mourners to folowe and none to offerre but he and the officers of Armes before him.

Then the chief mourner to goe vpp alone, and to offerre for himself, and ther to remayne vntill all the hatchements be offred, whiche he shall receyue and delyuer to Yorke Herauld, who shall set theim one the communion boord: then he to be brought downe agayne to his place.

Then the hatchements to be offred as folowith, and at all tymes . . Herauld before theim

First my Lord Keper, The Erle of Leicester } offred the Coat of Armes

Then Mr Edward Herbert and Sr James Crofte } offred the sword

Then Sr William Cicill and Sr Walter Myldemay } offred the Targe

Sr Nicholas Throckmorton, Mr Gerard attorney generall } offred the heaulme and creast

Then the viij mourners to offerre for theime selfes as folowith ij and ij

First the Lorde Keper, The Erle of Leicester } Garter Kinge of Armes before theim

---

* Sir Nicholas Bacon, the first Lord Keeper that took the name of Lord Chancellor.

† Lord Pembroke's second son,

‡ Sir James Crofts.

§ Edward, Lord Clinton; afterwards Earl of Lincoln.

|| Lord Howard of Effingham.

Mr Comptroller
Mr Edward Herbert } Richemond Herauld before theim

Sr William Cicill
Sr Walter Myldmay } Chester Herauld before theim

Sr Nicho: Throckmorton
Mr Gerard attorney general } Richemond Heraulde before theim

Then the iiij assistantes Yorke Herauld before them

Then the noble men in blackes ioyntly togither Richemond Herauld befor theim

Then the Steward Threasorer & comptroller; Chester Herauld before theim

Then the Knightes Master Coferer and Clerkes of the greene clothe and all other Esquyres and gentlemen to folowe theime ioyntly ij and ij Richemond Herauld before

Then the banner * of his armes
Then the Standert } A Herauld before either of theim

Then all other gentlemen having no blackes that will offere

Then the offringe donn and a certayne collect readde all the cheif mourners and noble men departed leauinge the officers and assistantes to see the body buryed Which officers did putt the Defunctes staffe into the graue and brake eche of theim ther owne staves and cast theim into the graue with him."

Endorsed: "18 Aprill 1570 ordre of ye Erl of Penbroke's Buryall at Poules"

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* The *Banner* was originally oblong in form, that is, about twice the depth of its width, thus corresponding to the early fashion of the shield; but latterly it grew to be nearly square. It displayed the armorial coat of its owner, spread entirely over its surface. The *Standard* was originally an ensign too large to be borne by a man into battle, it was fixed on a carriage and placed in the centre of the host, where it remained stationary, as their rallying point. In the reign of Henry VIII. the King's standard for this purpose was of less dimensions, and those of other persons were graduated according to their owners rank, from the duke's standard of seven yards and a half in length, to the knight's of only four. Standards differed from banners, not only in form, but in not bearing the arms of their masters. Every standard and guydon was "to have in the chief the cross of Saint George; next the beast or crest, with his motto; and to be slit at the end." The standards borne at funerals were made after this model. Standards became more frequent in use than banners. They were borne by knights; but banners were confined to bannerets and persons of higher rank. The *Bannerolls* were banners of increased width, made to display impalements, representing the alliances of the ancestors of the deceased. The *Helmet* is still seen lingering in some country Churches; it is seldom found to be more than a fictitious helmet, made for the purpose to which it is applied. In early times a knight's real helmet was offered. The *Target* was a shield of the arms of the defunct, the successor of the knights real shield,—(Notes upon Funerals by J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, vol. 42.)

"Abury Notes."

"My Dear Mr. Smith,

"In the interesting paper under the above heading in the last number of our *Magazine* I am surprised to find that my late esteemed parishioner, Mr. Butler, of Kennett, should have expressed himself with such hesitation on some of the existing remains of the Kennett avenue as he does in his letter to Dr. Thurnam, given in a note at p. 331. Thus he writes, 'on the south side of the road [*i.e.*, from Kennett to Marlborough] is some of the stones which is believed to be a part of the avenue.'

"Now, I submit that an inspection of the stones in question will amply satisfy any person that they formed part of this avenue.

"They stand in the hedge-bank of the meadow at the south of the Marlborough road as it leaves the hamlet of Kennett; they cannot be seen from the road itself, owing to the massiveness of the hedge-bank, but must be visited from the meadow. They are four in number, all of them being 'in situ,' and standing about twenty-three yards apart; two of them are prostrate, and the two others have been partially broken.*

"I am,

"Yours very faithfully,

"*Avebury, Calne,*
July 23*rd*, 1878."

"Bryan King."

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* There is also another stone which doubtless formed part of the Kennet Avenue, now lying in the hedge-bank at the corner of the road which branches off from the London road to East Kennett, and though completely hidden by the hedge and bank from the passer-by will be found by anyone who searches for it: this stone is in the same line with those in the Kennett meadow above-mentioned, and indeed is the easternmost stone of the avenue now existing. [Ed.]

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5 ...	56	24 ...	82	39 ...	79
6 ...	66	25 ...	98	40 ...	78
9 ...	13	26 ...	99	41 ...	62
10 ...	4	27 ...	117	42 ...	56
12 ...	24	28 ...	102	43 ...	74
13 ...	17	29 ...	143	44 ...	81
14 ...	52	30 ...	31	45 ...	88
15 ...	39	31 ...	77	46-7 (double No.)	29
16 ...	63	32 ...	87	48 ...	60
17 ...	66	33 ...	73	49 ...	73
18 ...	50	34 ...	84	50 ...	50
19 ...	62	35 ...	57	51 ...	76
20 ...	65				

"Wiltshire Collections," Aubrey and Jackson	...	153
"Account of Blackmore Museum," Part I.	...	83
" " " " II.	...	56
"Stonehenge and its Barrows," (being No. 46-7 of the Mag., in special covers) ... 4to	...	22
" " " " 8vo	...	241

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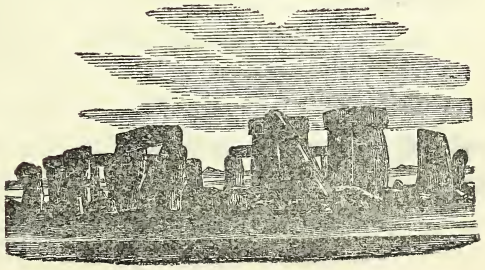

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Contents.

Annual Meeting and Report, 1878 133

"Justice in Warminster in the Olden Time": By W. W. Ravenhill, Esq., Honorary Secretary of the Wiltshire Society, and Recorder of Andover 136

The Black Friars of Wiltshire: By Rev. C. F. R. Palmer..... 162

Observations on the "Water-Supply" of some of our Ancient British Encampments, more particularly in Wiltshire and Sussex: By Sir George Duckett, Bart..... 177

"Kestrels and Crows": By F. Stratton, Esq. 181

On the Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Arthur P. Morres, Vicar of Britford 183

The Bishops of Old Sarum *(Continued)*: By Canon W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon 213

Verses from the Crewe MSS. on the assumption of Knighthood, temp. James I.: Communicated by Sir George Duckett, Bart. 254

DEVIZES:
H. F. & E. Bull, 4, Saint John Street.

THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

Annual Meeting and Report, 1878.

THE General Meeting of the Society for receiving the report, electing officers for the ensuing year, and other formal business, was held in the Library of the Museum, Devizes, on Wednesday, November 6th, 1878, at three o'clock; the Rev. Canon JACKSON in the chair.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH, one of the Honorary Secretaries, read the

REPORT FOR 1878.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society desires to present to the Members a short Report of the proceedings of the past twelve months.

"As regards our numbers, we have to lament the decease of some of our most valued members; indeed this has been a year of unprecedented losses to the Society. Death has robbed us of no less than twelve of our body, of whom five were *original* Members, including the late Marquis of Ailesbury; the Rev. Alfred Smith, of Old Park; Mr. Richard Mullings, of Cirencester; and Mr. W. C. Merriman, of Marlborough: while of those holding office in the Society we have to mention Mr. William Blackmore, one of our Vice-Presidents, whose name will ever be held in esteemed remembrance in this county as the munificent founder of the Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury, a museum of pre-historic archæology, second to none in the world. We have also lost another Vice-President in Sir John Awdry, who also held office as President for four years, and than whom none evinced greater or more continued interest in the Society from its inauguration to the day of his decease. And last of all our losses, but by no means least, by the death of Mr.

Edward Stevens we have lost an accomplished archæologist, and a most able Secretary, whose talent of organizing the annual excursions of the Society, and carrying out details for the comfort and convenience of the Members who took part in them, will long dwell in the remembrance of all who were present at our gatherings at Salisbury and Wilton. But Mr. Stevens was also a thorough archæologist, to which the many papers he contributed from time to time to various archæological publications, and notably his well-known volume entitled "Flint Chips," bear ample testimony. Your Committee will not readily forget the diligence and adroitness he showed in drawing up the new rules of our Society, which were mainly his work, and into which he threw himself with all the ardour he displayed about any matter he took in hand. This was nearly the last work he did for the Society, since which the long and painful illness, which terminated in his death, incapacitated him from further exertions. But his is a loss which cannot be replaced.

"The number of names now on the books amounts to 375, being somewhat under the figure of last year, which may be accounted for by the unusual number of deaths which have occurred amongst us.

"In regard to *finance,* the annual balance-sheet, which we now publish early in the year, contains such exact information as to render any details on this point at this season of the year wholly unnecessary: it will be enough to state roughly that our balance in hand is in some slight degree better than it was this time last year, and also a little better than when the balance-sheet for 1877 was published last March.

"With respect to the work of the Society, two *Magazines* have been issued within the last twelve months, and the Editor desires to add that a third might have been published, did the funds of the Society allow, as there is no lack of valuable material in hand, and much more is forthcoming.

"But the great work of the Society in 1878 is undoubtedly the enrichment of the Museum by the deposit therein of the noble Stourhead Collection of Antiquities. For this the Committee desires in the first place to express its best thanks to Sir Henry Hoare, for

the readiness and liberality he showed in consigning such precious treasures to our custody: and then to record its obligations to the Curators, Messrs. Olivier and Henry Cunnington, by whose efforts (and they were indefatigable in the work) this most desirable transfer was brought about. Those gentlemen themselves went down to Stourhead, and packed and brought away the many valuable specimens, so precious in the eyes of all Wiltshire antiquarians, as the spoil of the barrows on our downs: and not content with simply depositing them in our Museum, they have since, at a very considerable expenditure of time and labour, admirably arranged and labelled the several specimens, with the greatest judgment and good taste. Your Committee desires to repeat its cordial thanks to those gentlemen, as well as to Sir Henry Hoare, for the ready permission he gave for this transfer of the Stourhead heirlooms to Devizes.

"It only remains for your Committee to explain that the Annual Meeting of the Society for this year, which had been arranged to be held at Marlborough, was postponed till next year in consequence of the lamented death of Lord Ailesbury; to thank all who have in any way assisted in making known and preserving such archæological objects of interest as from time to time have been discovered; and again to invite the co-operation of all in every part of the county in regard to the objects we have in view, viz., the 'collecting and publishing information on archæology and natural history, more particularly in reference to the county of Wilts.'"

The Report was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed in the *Magazine*.

The President (Sir John Lubbock) whose three years of office had expired, was requested to retain office during one more year, in order to preside over the Annual Meeting of 1879, intended to be held at Marlborough.

The following names were added to the list of Vice-Presidents of the Society: The Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath, The Right Hon. Lord Heytesbury, Sir H. A. Hoare, Bart.

The following noblemen and gentlemen were added as Trustees of the Society: The Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath, The Most Hon. the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir John Neeld, Bart., Sir John

Lubbock, Bart., M.P., The Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie, G. T. S. Estcourt, Esq., M.P., G. P. Fuller, Esq., G. Goldney, Esq., M.P., W. H. Poynder, Esq., J. W. G. Spicer, Esq.

The COMMITTEE was re-elected, with the following additions: Rev. E. L. Barnwell, A. B. Fisher, Esq., Rev. A. B. Thynne, Rev. Canon Warre.

The GENERAL SECRETARIES, LOCAL SECRETARIES, GENERAL CURATORS and TREASURER were re-elected.

"Justice in Warminster in the Olden Time."

By W. W. RAVENHILL, Esq.,

Honorary Secretary of the Wiltshire Society, founded A.D. 1817, and Recorder of Andover.

"I see men's judgments are
A parcel of their fortunes; and things outward
Do draw the inward quality after them,
To suffer all alike."

(Antony and Cleopatra, Act 3, s. 13.*)*

WHEN I received the summons of our Secretary, to address you on a subject connected with this locality, there appeared the difficulty, so commonly felt, that though it abounds with ancient remains, yet history had preserved but a few faint facts, and many of these had already been brought under your notice. However, of justice, as it used to be in this district, I have a few notes, which I offer to the future historian of Warminster.

Did a Roman judge live at the villa at Pitmead? Were the Mauduits, Lords of Warminster, worthy successors of the Royal Manor Court? You can perhaps answer these questions for yourselves. You find an ancient Church,[1] an old nunnery, a good market, to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Could

[1] Which an order of A.D. 1626 says: "Weeps many a fresh tear for her decayed house, especially when the wind is in the west." In 1620 an action was brought by the Vicar of Warminster, against the feoffees of the chapel of St. Lawrence, for not doing their duty. Stirring times!

these exist without lawyers? Wherever there are lawyers there must be justice.

Assizes.

In King Henry the Second's time judges of assize first came to Wiltshire. We must give them precedence.

Of the many charming pictures which that famous Wiltshireman, Mr. Addison, gives of his friend Sir Roger de Coverley, few are more vigorous than the visit to the assizes. Sir Roger (that worthy knight, who was at peace with himself and beloved and respected by all who knew him), Will Wimble, and Mr. Spectator, ride thither on horseback—it may have been from Warminster to Salisbury. On their way they fall in with two plain men, the first an honest and sensible yeoman, who had been several times foreman of petty juries, was just within the Game Act and could knock down a dinner with his gun twice or thrice a week; "a paragon, but that he shot just a few too many partridges." The other, Tom Touchy, who would take the law of everybody, at his own cost or theirs, and, with his head full of costs, damages, and ejectments, had squandered a fair portion of his patrimony in litigation.

How Sir Roger heard, at a good round trot, the legal argument between Will Wimble and Tom Touchy, as to the right of fishing in a certain hole, and then drawing rein for consideration, soothed the disputants with his judgment, "That there was much to be said on both sides." How, when the assize court was reached, Sir Roger's brother magistrates made way for him, that he might sit beside the judge. How the old knight whispered to the latter that "he was glad his lordship had met with so much good weather on circuit." The solemnity of the proceedings somewhat rather enhanced, than otherwise, by a little speech of Sir Roger's to the judge and court; the respect paid by the county gentlemen to Sir Roger at the rising of the court; the admiration of the general public for the brave solemn knight who was not afraid to speak (Mr. Spectator says to no purpose) to the judge; the ride home; all this, gives us an assize as it was in Wiltshire in bygone days.

The assizes for this county were, till recently (with two exceptions) held at Salisbury. Now they are occupied chiefly with

the trials of prisoners and causes, but in the olden time those courts had cognizance of many other matters. There were heard appeals from quarter or petty sessions, concerning poor laws, or road repairs, &c., and a further jurisdiction as to men, women, morals, and property, quite paternal, though according to statute, common law, or custom.

The assize commissions of the western circuit have been preserved from the sixteenth century, and there are four volumes of orders, partly civil, partly criminal, extending from 1629 to 1688 (that most memorable period of our history) which throw some light on seventeenth century manners.[1]

It will be remembered that no Parliament sat in England from 1629 to 1640—King Charles I. was trying to get on without one. Then, in 1640, there was the Short Parliament (April 13th to May 5th—twenty-two days) which was dissolved; and on 3rd November following the Long Parliament assembled. Then came the Civil War, August, 1642; the king's death, January, 1649; Cromwell's rule; the Restoration, May, 29th, 1660; the Revolution bringing in William III., February, 13th, 1689. During the whole of this long agitated period of sixty years, assizes were held twice a year, except from the spring of 1643 to the summer of 1646, when almost every one was in arms.

There is an order of the judge of assize, Sir Robert Foster, directed to the inhabitants of Sturminster, Dorset (Dorchester was the last place on this circuit), to "repair their bridges," dated August 15th, 1642, seven days before King Charles unfurled his standard at Nottingham; and there is an order of an assize held at Wolvesay, near Winchester, August 6th, 1646, made by Mr. Justice (afterwards Chief Justice) Rolle, "that care shall be taken that legacies and gifts, &c., heretofore given to the poor of Broughton, Hants, shall be applied according to the true intent of the donors;" and a further order for raising a rate to repair the Church of that parish.

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[1] Warminster in the Seventeenth Century. See Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i., p. 113, for a spirited account of that General's attempt to relieve Woodhouse, near Longleat, and his advance over Warminster Heath (Common), skirmish there, and retreat over the downs to Salisbury.

The law was thus often present to punish criminals, to exercise a municipal control suitable to those times, and to see that justice was done between man and man. It would be difficult to exaggerate the beneficial effect of such gatherings on the peace and well-being of the public at large. Only once was this interfered with, viz., in 1655, by the Rising in the West, of which an account will be found in vol. xiii. of this *Magazine*.

Permit me to give you a few more extracts from these records of the Western Circuit. During the summer circuit, 1646, four orders were made by Mr. Justice Rolle for all the counties included in the Western Circuit, strengthening the hands of the magistrates—as to the better regulation of the licensing of alehouses and suppressing those unlicensed, which had come into existence during the civil war. "Such a multiplicity of alehouses wherein were daily abuses and disorders, specially on sabbath dayes." A second, against the profanation of the sabbath, and the last Wednesday in each month, then appointed as a fast-day throughout the kingdom. A third, as to the due observance "of watch and ward in parish and tythinge;" and fourth, that no person presented to the grand jury for misdemeanor or offence should be discharged without proper precautions.

These orders sometimes originated in the presentments of the grand juries, who, to their honour, were assisting the judges in the settlement of the country.

But there are orders on many subjects. For instance, A.D. 1631, against John Moody, of Upton Lovell, for turning, &c., Mr. Lambert's hedges and ditches. 1632, John Punchen, for baffling the law by lewd and cunning practices, in procuring that coseners Inigo Price, Peter Corinthe,[1] and George Hudson, be set at liberty, before they had satisfied their victims, which John is bound over to do. 1633, men drinking and wasting wine in a carrier's wain, &c. 1634, Thomas Smyth, *alias* Goddard, is allowed to retain his cottage at Herringslade, in the parish of Warminster, and tything of Smallbrook, which he had erected contrary to the statute 31st Elizabeth,

[1] These names have a smack of the turf; there were Salisbury races in those days, which were prohibited by Cromwell as meeting-places for malignants.

which prohibited such erections. These are for Wilts. Dorset is lax in Church-going, and Queen Elizabeth's fine—1*s.* for each offence—must be carefully levied. There is a great name from Warminster at this time, Edward Cromwell (no relation, I expect, of the Protector), in gaol for killing Robert Long, of Warminster. As there is no prosecution against him, "let Dr. Chafyn inquire and bail him to next assize if he see cause." Warminster inhabitants much troubled about their highways. 1639, presented both at sessions and assizes. Some of the dwellers, who had been at charges and paid, pray that the expense may not light altogether on them; let the recusants contribute. 1640, the Judges "take it ill" that Warminster has so slighted their orders about the roads; order for general rate, and warrants for the disobedient. But the difficulty was not readily settled, for nearly seventeen years later—1657—Chief Justice Glynn refers the raising and payment of this rate to two justices, Messrs. Watchell and Redout, as the overseers (Messrs. Thomas Butcher, Will. Chaundler, Christ. Willoughby, and Humfry Buckler) cannot get their money; they have paid it out of their own purses; yes, the workmen and the ploughs to repair.[1]

There are orders which show that which I can find no allusion to in any history, viz., the prevalence of the plague at Fisherton Anger, Salisbury, in 1646. At the summer assize of that year there was

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[1] The original petition of the overseers is as follows:—"That being chosen overseers for the amendment of the highwayes within in the parish aforesaid did according to the late ordinance receive a rate from the said parish confirmed and allowed by the Justices of this county for the repaire of the highwayes aforesaid whereupon they employed ploughes and workemen to doe the said service many persons wch yor petitioners paid out of their purses expectinge to receive againe from the parties wch promised to pay the same But since the settinge of the Parleyam^{t} they have refused to pay what they promised expectinge to be freed from the same because that the ordinance for the amendment of the highwayes was not putt into an act." There may be a doubt whether "ploughs" indicates teams of horses. But there is no mention of stone or other material. Wiltshire folk then travelled on horseback, ladies on pillions. Carriages rare. The grass roads, where furrowed by carts or waggons, could be turned in by the plough; but there would be stone used in the streets of towns, and thus ploughs here may have the prior meaning. Note here, too, the ordinance of His Highness compared with the Act of Parliament.

a petition of the inhabitants to the Judge of assize; "they had," they said, "a warrant for Giles Eyre and Edward Tinker, Esq., to raise a rate of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* within five miles' compass every fortnight." Only £3 received; ought to have been £15 6*s.* 8*d.* They had been "at such great charges in buildinge pest houses for the releiffe of the poore wh. are 269 persons as that they have disbursed £30 out of their own purses, besides all charitable bequests from Sarum; and not beinge able to disburse any more monyes for the relieffe of the said poor infected people, there beinge not above 8 persons in all the parish able to relieve themselves during this visitation wh. is very well known to the Justices of the Peace of this County." And the inhabitants further shewed that "the charge of the infected persons and those that are not suffered to travayle for work and the want of commerce have growen to £3 a day and unles speedy course be taken for their releiffe they shall not be able to keep them in, wh. will be the endangeringe of the whole country." Messrs. Eyre and Tinker desired to see that constables get in arrears; increase rate if they think fit, till next quarter sessions, &c.

The plague was heavy in Somersetshire, at Wiveliscombe: "The poor infected people doe break abroad and committ many outrages and cast infected things into mens windowes to the great danger of spreadinge abroad the infection, 440 poore infected people want relieffe £20 rate a week too little."

At Taunton St. James, rate for plague-stricken in default, and the constables had spent £140 out of their own purses "and moreover at this present [August 8th, 1646] there are above 40 poore infected persons in the fields at the said constables charges who must of necessity be provided for to prevent future danger."

No plague orders about Warminster I am glad to say!

Next year—1647—Salisbury, March 6th, "the court having taken into consideration the great and lamentable complaint and cry of poor people in this time of dearth and scarcity, and also having taken into consideration the order made at the general quarter sessions of the peace, &c., for allowance of one bushel of barley out of every quarter for relieffe of the poor att a lower price than the markett, this court doth approve of the said order with this addition of

allowinge of 2 pecks out of every sack of barley bought and sold to be served unto the use of the poore." Supervisors of markets to be appointed to see and observe what corn is brought and bought and sold, &c., and allowance for use of poor duly observed. Justices of the peace desired to observe their monthly meetings; to suppress needless or unlicensed alehouses, and those which sold with lesser measure than statutable. Bakers to make their bread according to assize. "Constables do your duty or beware."

In the following year, in Cornwall, an endeavour was made to stop malting altogether, on account of the high price of corn.

Then there is an order, 31st August, 1648, to relieve the sufferers by the fire at Ramsbury, "14th June, last past." There happened "in the same towne a sudden hideous and devouring fire weh. in very short tyme consumed and buryed up the habitations of six score and tenn families wth. most of their goodes to the value of £15,000 att the least." Orders and orders. Goods and cattle, constables and riotous folk, poor and heiresses, all come under the purview of my lords the Queen's justices of assize, without respect of persons. Robert Maundrell (March, 1672) is to bring Johanna Mortimore, "a person of very considerable fortune of about the age of twelve years, whom he has unlawfully taken away in the highway, before the justices at the sign of the Bear, at Marlborough, and not endeavour to marry her or permit her to be married till she attains fourteen years."

But time and patience fail. The two exceptions to assizes of this county being held at Salisbury in those days, already alluded to, were those of the summer of 1642, when they were held at Devizes, (21st of July, King and Commons at daggers,) and the summer of 1666, at Warminster. The latter was the year of the Great Plague, which raged at Winchester and Salisbury, and so circuit, with due caution, went to Andover and Warminster. The judges were Sir John Keeling and Sir John Archer. History is not altogether pleasant upon the former, with his grand cut of robe and gold chain, a martinet, and rough of tongue. Sir Roger de Coverley and his little speech would have been extinguished. Lord Clarendon might well doubt seven months before he placed such a man at the head

of the "King's Own" court; but there was no one else save Sir Matthew Hale, and he was not acceptable. Sir John (as he himself says, till then silent for twenty years) won some reputation for his conduct of the regicide Hackett's trial—most dark matter—for Keeling doubted whether the indictment should be laid against the peace of King Charles II., who was at the time travelling abroad, or that of Charles I., whose head was off. It was settled by taking off Hackett's head. A miracle of circumstances made Keeling Chief Justice, and he exchanged his silence at the bar for scolding from the bench. With interest and awe must the inhabitants of Warminster have looked on him. What said he a little later, to the foreman of the grand jury of Somerset (Sir Hugh Wyndham), on that body declining to find a true bill contrary to their consciences, "You shall find it. All of you are my servants, and I will make the best in England stoop." If he disagreed with petty juries he would sometimes fine them. At length an address was presented against him to both Houses of Parliament. He fought well at the bar of the House of Commons and saved his place. In 1670 he was presented to the House of Lords, for his conduct to Lord Holles, and had to publicly apologise. But it is fair to his memory to add that Sir Thomas Raymond speaks of him as a learned, faithful, and resolute judge.

Of Sir John Archer nothing need be said.

There is no record of the counsel who were present on that circuit; possibly Serjeant Maynard was here, then past sixty years, but full of vigour, who survived to tell Lord Jefferies "that he (Serjeant Maynard) was not so old but he had forgotten more law than Lord Jefferies had ever known;" and King William III. "that but for his coming he might have survived the law itself." He was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Great Seal at the age of eighty-seven. It is said he loved law so well, that he drew his will carefully to promote litigation.

The commission of the assize precept and calendar, cannot be found. Permit me to draw attention to those of 1659, seven years earlier. We can tell those who attended, the clerk of assize has ticked them:—

"The Names of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Wiltes.

William Lenthall Speaker of Parliament
John Bradshawe, Thomas Tyrrell, John ffountaine } Serjeants att Lawe Commissioners of the great seale of England
Phillipp Earle of Pembroke and Monngomry
Robert Nicholas one of the Judges of this Commonewealth
Richard Newdegate one other of the Judges of this Commonewealth
. Hugh Windham one other of the Judges of this Commonwealth
Sr Walter St John, Sr Anthoney Ashley Cooper } Baronetts
Sr John Evelyn Knighte
Robert Wallopp
Alexander Popham
Edmund Ludlowe
. Edward Baynton
. Edward Tooker
. Alexander Thistlethwaite
William Eyre
. William Hussey
Michaell Oldsworth *
John Earneley the younger
Edward Hungerford
Phillipp Smith
Thomas Grove
Wadham Windham
George Cooper
John Dove of †
Thomas Estcourt one of the M^rs of Chancery
pxd George Grubham Howe
. William Yorke
pxd George Joy
. Richard Grubham Howe
. William Cole of Downton
Robt Hippesley
John Bulkley
. Nicholas Greene
. William Ludlowe
Thomas Eyre of Bromham
. Edward Mitchell
. ffrances Swanton
Gabriell Martin
James Ashe ‡
Samuell Ashe Esqre ‡

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* Present? This is a doubtful spot in the parchment.
† Undecipherable.
‡ Ancestors of the present Lord Heytesbury.

Thomas Paine Doctor of physick
. John Reade
Thomas Mompesson

HUNDREDS

Bayliffes		Constables	
. Anthony Batchellor	Amsbury	.	
Hugh Holloway	Alderbury	. George	
William Coleman	Bradford	. George	
John Parham	Branch & Dole	. Henry	
George Brother	Chalke	. Henry	
* the younger	Calne	.	
Samuel Cread	Camden & Cadworth	.	
	Dunworth	.	
	Damham	.	
	Damham	.	
. Merricke Gyles	Downton (Dunch)	. Nicholas	
. †	Elstub and Everleigh	. Edmond	
. Thomas Atkins	ffrustfield	. William	
. William Ewen	Highworth Cricklade & Staple	. Richard	
. Edward Meaden	Heytesbury	. William	
. Robert Ball	Kingsbridge	. Edward	
. John Hall	Kinwardston	. Richard	
. Edward Stratton	Melksham	sick William	
. Walter Gingell	Malmesbury	. Richard	
. Edmond Boyce [?]	Meere	. William	
. Thomas Parsons	Potterne and Canninges	. Henry	
. John Stone	Ramsbury	. Jonathan	Sw
Wm Ingles	Selkleigh	. Thomas	Sw
. John Tacker[Tucker]	Swanborough	. William	Sw
. Samuell ffry	Warmister	. Anthony Thresher	Sw
. William Thirlwall	Westbury	. John Edwards	Sw
. ChristopherMargerim	Whorelsdowne	. John Blagbury	Sw
. John Lawrence	Underditch	. John Bur	Sw
. Theophilus Bayliffe	Libty of Chippenham	. Nathaniel	Sw
. James Hancocke	Libty of Bromham & Rowde	. Robert	
. Joseph Tarrant	Burough of Wilton	. Ge	
. Merricke Gyles	Burough of Dounton		
. Wm Gouldisborough	Libty of Hindon Knoile and ffunthill		
. Edward Stratton	Libty of Trowbridge		
. Phillipp Orrell	Burrough of Calne		
. Merricke Gyles	Libty of Bishopstone		

CONSTABLES

. Stephen Browne John S^{w} [S^{w}=sworn]
. John Reeves S^{w}
. Christopher Mopham S^{w}

* Undecipherable (Wm. Chapon?)
† Undecipherable.

. John Buffield S^w^
. Richard Starke S^w^
. Robert Child S^w^
. Thomas Clarke S^w^
. Nicholas Daniell S^w^
. Christopher ffoord S^w^

. John Smith S^w^
. Tristram Tanner, S^w^
. Thomas Lawrence S^w^
. Thomas Smith S^w^
. Thomas Dowse S^w^
. Richard White S^w^
. Wm Mastirs S^w^
. Thomas Lucas S^w^
. Henry Bowles S^w^
. John Phelps als Bromham S^w^.
. John Ruddle S^w^
. Leonard Jeffs S^w^
. Phillipp King S^w^
. James Hancocke S^w^
. George Norris S^w^
. Peter Gale S^w^
. Joseph Stephens, S^w^
. Roger Gibbons S^w^
. Robert Kinge S^w^
pxd William Druce
. Richard Hall S^w^"

Nineteen names so torn as to be undecipherable.
Total, fifty-six constables.

"The Names of the Mayo^rs^ of the Sevrall Borroughs & Libertyes of the County afores^d^.

. Christopher Ball gent Mayo^r^ of the City of New Sarm.
William Goffe gent Mayor of the Burrough of Marlborough
John Sloper gent Mayo^r^ of the Burrough of the Devizes
. Henry Brasier gent Mayo^r^ of the Burrough of Wilton
Mayo^r^ of the Burrough of Wootton Bassett
. Henry Bolton gent Mayo^r^ of the burrough of Westbury
. William Love gent Mayo^r^ of the burrough of Dounton

"The Names of the Coroner^s^ w^th^in the County aforesaid.

. Jonathan Hill
. Luke Weekes
. Thomas fflower
. John Amyatt

"Isaack Burges Esq.
ye sheriffe"

The rest of the parchment rolls connected with the above are indictments chiefly of the years 1658 and 1659. There are no entries in the order book from 1658 summer circuit to summer circuit, 1659, so that there may have been no assize in the spring of 1659; however the indictments do not belong to the gaol list of July, 1659, for all the names of the prisoners do not coincide, and this remains in doubt.

In the bundle I found a coroner's inquisition and an indictment for throwing a man down a well at Warminster, Dec. 1658.

An indictment against a fisherman named Fras Hartory and his wife Katharine making an assault "on an unknown man" at the Warren at Wilton :—

"On a certain man unknown in the peace of God and in the publique peace then and there beinge [June 20th, 1654] an assault and affraye did make And the afsd F H with a certayne sword of the value of 1/- w^{h}. he the s^{d} F H in his right hand then and there had and did hold the afsd man unknowne in and upon the brest of him the s^{d} man unknowne then and there with the sword afsd feloniously voluntarily and of his malice before thought did strike and thrust Giveinge to the s^{d} man unknowne one mortall wound of w^{h} s^{d} mortall wounde the afsd man unknowne att Wilton afsd in the afsd place there called the Hare warren then and there instantly dyed. And that Kath H his wife at place &c was present aiding abetting &c.

"SWANSTON"

Only one witness—William Kent—on back of indictment.

True bill found.

There is also a sentence to hanging for a burglary at Milford, near Sarum, against three men. An innkeeper also to be executed for "setting them up" to commit it.

The following docket, tied on to the roll, hung from it as it lay in the pile :—

"Wiltes Rolls 1650—1659—Both inclusive. The following cannot be found

Lent 1650
do —54
do —58
do —59

A few more documents remain which I trust I may be forgiven for setting out in full, as they may prove interesting to authorities on our county nomenclature and crime.

List of jurors serving, summer, 1659 :—

"Wiltes. The Juro^rs to Inquire for ye Keep^res of ye lybties of England by Authority of Parliam^t and for ye body of the county aforesaid

John Alford	Esq^rs	Swo
Walter Parker		
John Goddard		
Hugh Webb		
Henry ffrancklyn	Gent	
Jeffery Pinnell		
Thomas Stoakes		
Robert Edmonds		
Arthur Vilett		
Walter Webb		
John Newman		
Thomas Sherston		
Antho: Manx Junr		
John Jesse		
John Smith		
Robert Bayly		
Maurice Greene		

"Isaac Burges Esqr
Sheriffe"

On a piece of parchment next follows :—

"Wiltes A pfect Kallender of all the prisoners that are remaininge in the goale of ffisherton Anger with theire sevall facts by them comitted as followeth.

The names of thirty-two prisoners are then set out, the names of the committing justice and the cause of detention.

		Committing Mag
1	Accused upon suspicion of . . . . a mare colt about a yeare old	Wm Stone Esq
2	Suspicion of having set the booth in Weighill on fyer	Francis Swanton Richard Hill Wm Stone
3	Chged with breaking into a shop of Thos Phripp at Westbury	Ed Middlecotte
4	do with felonies and burglaries	E^d Tooker Henry Eyre James Hely Wm Stone Esq
5	Accused for do	do
6	do burglary on stable	Francis Swanton

Not prosecuted

7 Convicted for marying his brother's daughter — Gabriell Martin, Wm Blissett Esqs

8 Commit on suspttion of a felony & chged therewith — Wm Stone Esq

9 Robbery of Bacon &c fr house of Robt Everet of Longlete — George Joy Esq

10 Chged upon suspicion of sevrall felonies and burglaries — Ed Middelecotte Esq

11 do by Gabriell Banks for breaking the mill at Heytesbury — Thomas Mompesson, James Hely Esqs

12 Accused for murdering her Bastard — Ed Peirce Esq

Reman to Hampshire

13 Felony 2 — James Heley Esq

14 Anne Smith on suspition of cutting 3 purses in Warminster Market — Ed Middlecote Esq

15 Upon suspition of stealing Hen house barn grannary ye Property of Mrs Katherine Topwite of Tormarton Gloucestershire widow—Exors bound to prosecute to next assize — George Fry, NicholasGreeneEsqs

16 Committed by Qr Sessions to remain till assizes

17 Felony of a halter of Kath Randolph of Luckington Gloucestershire — Wm Sadler Esq

18 Takinge away a kittle out of the back side of John Tomlin alias Tomsson of Calne — Thomas Eyre Esq

19 Stealing 5/8 from Henry Gerrish's Chamber at Codford — Ed Mitchell Esq

20 Housebreaking — John Arch Esqr

Not prosecuted

21 Suspition of using Witchcraft — Ed Tooker, Fras Swanton, Jas Helys Esqs

22 Stealing sail cloth and stocking — Ed Mitchell Esq

To remain according to her commitmt

23 Committed untill [she give security for her appearance at Session at Midsummer for that she is with child — Francis SwantonEsq

To rem: as above

24 Committed to the house of correction for a bastard child — Francis SwantonEsq

To remain as above

25 Katherine George Committed to the house of correction — do

26

27 3 men reprieved after Judgment

28 Rem reprd as before *

29 Stealing clothes fr: Stable at Downton

30 do pewter flaggon — Wm Sadler Esq

31 Brought fr London by Court Corpus

32 do Somerset do

---

* Different handwriting.

Copy of precept for Salisbury, July, 1659 :—

"Robert Nicholas one of the Judges of this Comonwealth of England and Richard Newdigate one other of the Judges of the said Commonwealth Justices assigned to take all assizes Jurats and certificates arraigned before any Justices whomsoever as well by divers others writts as by divers of the writts of the keeper of the libtes of England by authority of Parliament w^thin the county of Wilts to he s heriff of the s^d county of Wilts Greetinge. Wee comand That you omit not for any acts [accounts] wth in yor county but that you cause to come before us att New Sarum in yor county upon Saturday ye three and twentieth day of July next comeinge all writts of assize jurats certificates arraigned before any justice whomsoever as well by divers other writts as by divers of the writts of the said keepe^r of ye libtes of Eng. by authority of Parliam^t w^thin yor. county and others which *are founded* Attachm^te reattachm^tr summons resummons and all other minunds [missions ?] whatsoever concerning the assizes jurats and certificates aforesaid Provided allwayes That the attachm^ts re-attachm^ts summons resummons whereof be made fifteen days before ye said Saturday also that you cause to come before us the said Robt Nicholas Richd Newdegate justices to deliver the goale of the said county of the prison^rs therein being at ye day and place aforesaid all prisoners remaining in the s^d gaole togeather with their attachm^ts indictm^ts and [mismrs ?] all other those prison^rs any waye concerning And of the venue of every town and place where the felonies were comitted whereof the said prion^rs stand indicted appealed or arrested as well w^thin libtie as w^thout fower and twenty good and lawfull men by whome the treuth of ye matter may be the better knowne and inquired of who have noe affinity to those prison^rs togeather wth fower selected men of those towns and places to do those things wch on the behalf of the keeper &c. they shalbee then and there enjoyned and y^t yo^u cause to bee publiqueiy pclaimed throughout your whole Bailwecke that all those who will pscute against the said prisoners may be then and there to psecute ag^st them as shallbee just And alsoe y^t you give notice to all justices of the peace mayors cron^rs stewarfs bayliffes of hundreds and libtes w^thin yor county and alsoe to all cheife constables of every hundred and libtie y^t they may bee then and there in their owne persons wth theire Rolls Records Indictm^ts and other remembrances to do those things which to their offices in that behalfe appertaine and that you yourself and ye under sheriffe togeather wth yor bayliffes other yor ministers be then and there in your own persons to do those things which to yo^rs and their offices appertain to be done and that you have then and there ye names of all justices of the peace mayo^rs coron^rs stewards juro^rs bayliffes cheefe constables and the names of them by whom you shall so cause them to come and of them by whom and to whom you shall so give notice and also that you have then and there this Precept Dated att Westminster the twenty third day of June in the yeare of Our Lord 1659

"SWANTON"

The bottom of the precept, possibly containing the signature of Justice Newdegate, has been cut off.

Indorsement on precept :—

"By virtue of this precept to mee directed I caused to come before the Justices

wthin written att the day & place w^{thin} Conteyned all writts of Assizes Jurats and certific in my county Togeather wth the pannells Att^{ath} Reattath S$\bar{u}$m Res$\bar{u}$m and all other helps the assizes Jur^{rs} [Jurats] and Certif in any wise touchinge to come I have caused before the aforesaid Justices att ye Gaole of ffisherton Anger the prisoners in it beinge to deliver assigned at the day and place aforesaid beinge wch their Attachm^{ts} and all other helps those prison^{rs} in any wise touchinge. And from ye Venewe of Evry Toune and place where ye felonies (whereupon the same p^{r}sons indicted appealed or arrested be) c$\bar{o}$mitted were as well wit^{in} Lib$\bar{t}$ies As without xxiiij good and Legall men by whome the truth of ye matter may be better knowne and inquired, And whoe to those prison^{rs}. are not at all allied Togeather wth foure men of the cheife Towne or place to doe those things wch then and there to them of the ptee (parte or peace) of ye keepers of ye Libty wthin named shalbe enjoyned. Publickly also I have caused to be proclaymed through my whole shire that all those whosr will psecute agst These prisonr^{s} then they be there agst them (as just it shallbe) to psecute And alsoe I have caused to be made knowne to the Justices of peace Coronrs Stewards Bayliffes of Libties and Huddreds of ye county aforesaid that then they be there wth the Rolls Records Indictments and other theire Remembrances to doe those offices wch to them doe app^{r}taine

"The residue of the Executon of this precept appeares in certaine Schedules and pannell to the same annexed

"Isaac Burges Esq
Wiltes Sheriffe"

The Commission of Assize.

"The keepers of the Libty of England by Authority of Parliament To Richard Newdegate one of the Judges of this Commonwealth, William Swanton, Alexander Rolle, John Stevens, and Lawrence Swanton Greetinge *Know* yee that we have constituted you some three and two of you whereof wee will that you the said Richard Newdegate be one Justices to deliver the Gaole of the County of Wiltes and the prisoners therein being And therefore wee c$\bar{o}$mand you that at a ct$\bar{e}$yne day wch yee some three or two of you whereof we will that [you? the] said Richard Newdegate be one shall appoint on this behalfe yee meet at New Sarum to deliver that Gaole doeinge this [as to?] Justice doth apperteyne according to the law and custome of England saving to us the Amriaments [amerciaments] and other things thereof and [thereunto] belonging. ffor we have comanded the Sheriffe of the said County of Wiltes that at the cteyne day wch yee some three or two [of you] whereof wee will that you the said Richard Newdegate be one shall make knowne to him hee shall cause all the prisoners in the said Gaole [with] their attachm^{ts} there to come before you some three or two of you whereof wee will that you the said Richard Newdegate be one In *Witness* whereof wee have caused these our Lrts [Letters] to be made Patent Witness ourselves at Westm' in the three and twentieth day of June in the year of Our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty nyne."

Signature, or signatures, cut off.

Sir Richard Newdegate went summer circuit in the west, 1659—

at Winchester, July 20th, New Sarum, July 23rd, Dorchester, July 28th. (*Western Circuit Order Book.*)

In 1666 there would be changes, and we might find the name of that great patriot, Sir Walter Long, of Whaddon, and Sir James Thynne, and others, but alas! as I have already said, the rolls are lost.

Of civil proceedings at the assize, other than those already mentioned, I have none. There is, however, a correspondence[1] between Mr. Bullen Reymes of Whaddon, Dorset, and Miss Ann Coker of Mappowder, which, but for a happy termination, might well have figured in a suit for breach of promise of marriage. The lady was possibly connected with the Cokers of Deverill, well-known magistrates at Warminster, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] How and when commenced this tender attachment we know not, but it suggests recollections of Arcadia and junket, good cheer and refinement in pleasant places:—

"Sir

When you was hear* you told me that you could healp me to a dary maed if she can winnow corn and make malt she will be fitt for me I must have a daery maed that can do that. Since you went away I knew of her going so if you pleas to send her over you will very much oblige yor

Affectionate Kinswoman

June ye 29th And humble servant

[1690] 90 Ann Coker."

Pray S[r] let me have an answer if you can by this bearer.

Superscription:—

"These for
Bullen Reames Esq
at his house at
Whaddon"

The next letter discloses the fatal position of the gentleman:

"S[r].

I am sorry that the memory of me should case so great a dissatisfaction in you that you can take noe rest Loves deseases ar so easy to cure that you nede none of my relefe for being so much you Sir abrode in the world as you ar

---

[1] Miss Chafyn Grove's MSS., which, by her kindness, I am allowed to publish.

[2] State Papers, Domestic, published by order of the Master of the Rolls.

* No one spelt before Dr. Johnson.

I thinke it not possible that such a passion should make you stoop for my parte I cannot think there is any such thing now a day in the world pray burne this and in so doing you will oblidge

S^r your Lo: Kinswoman
to serve you
ANN COKER."

"Mappowder
July ye 19th
1690
To Buller Reymes Esq"

The plot thickens. A warmer note from Mr. Reymes (which she, faithful heart, with a woman's sagacity, has destroyed amongst the rest of his burning epistles) and warmer answer. Most proper maiden—her "Ffather" must be consulted. He, of course, is quite ignorant!

"S^r.

I am extremely obliged to you for yor kind expressions which you ar pleased to Honour me with if it be Reall, you know that I am under the Goverment of A ffather whom I allways shall endeavour to please I am

S^r. your obliged Kinsw^n
and humble servant
ANN COKER."

"Mappowder
Aug 23rd
I received the anchovies
when I see you will thankfully
pay you"

We must not think of comparing the great suit of Bardswell *v.* Pickwick and the tomato sauce, or how the anchovies were paid for, but go on. For weeks no record, and then Miss Coker again—a charming note :—

"S^r

Yours of the 12th instant I have received wherein you have expressed such a reall and hearty affection towards me that I cannot chuse but gratefully acknowledg the same and wish that myselfe and ffortune were answerable thereunto, it is (S^r) much above my capacity or sex to make you the like returns of those generose expressions of yours towards me and being so is a plea for my excuse: I shall be really glad to see you here as soone as you thinke fitt pray excuse all that's amiss being an umble request of

S^r your Affec^te Kinsw^n
ANN COKER."

"Mappowder
Sep 20th 1690"

After all this, can there be any doubt? Possibly, for there is another letter, which, if it belongs to this courtship, or was written in Miss Coker's behalf, suggests too much delay. However, it may

be in the interest of another lady, who snatched at winning Mr. Reymes once more, before it was too late.

Anonymous letter to Bullen Reymes, Esq :—

"ffor Bullen Reymes Esq
att His House at Waddon
Leave this at the Post House
in Dorchester to be convayd
post Jan 2nd Dorsett"

"Sr

You may admier att my confidence to give you the trouble of this, whose only buisnesse is to Acquaint you that the Lady which was the owner of the Ring, we Drank a Health to when you were Last att this Place, hath bin heare [where?] and her mother this 3 weeks, and I belive may continew some Little time Longer, but with more Pleasantnesse, had we the satisfaction to enjoy your good company, of which the owld lady According to your owne Promise, hath expected Long since, tho she nor none else knowes, of my writing this which I hope will be soe fortunate to kiss your Hands, [Dear me! what next!] and withall make us soe hapey to see you heare next weecke, which is all from her that humbly begs your Pardon for this trouble, and is oblidged allways to subscribe

your most Humble Servt
A B C"

How such letters as these bring back men, women, and manners. Sweet forgotten records of flirtations and courtships hid away in the bureau—thank goodness, not burnt. Mr. Reymes married Miss Ann Coker. Oh, fancy if either, specially the latter, could see us reading "Her Letters!"

II.—Sessions.

Since legal memory Warminster has always had quarter sessions. Formerly these were held in April. In the early records that we have of them it is interesting to find many names familiar to us as belonging to magistrates who are doing the county work to-day.

Warminster Sessions, 1574; present, John Zouch and Walter Hungerford, Milites, William Hussee, Egidius Estcourt, John Eyre, William Dannywell, and John Penruddock. At the sessions, 1575, April 16th, we find present John Zouch, John Thynne, Walter Hungerford, Thomas Wroughton, Milites, and John Eyre, &c., Justices; names well known here now.

Here are a few notes of those days, from the Session Order Books.

1574:—

"Wilts Warm — Sessions ibm lent die Martis xxvi^{t} dec parchalis Anno reginæ Dom: Majest^{e} Elizabeth dei grat Angli ffra et hibirn fidei defensor etc xvii Coram John Zouch Walter Hungerford Milites William Hussee, Egidio Estcourt, John Eyre, William Dannywell, and John Penruddock &c Justiciæ dominæ Reginæ pacem &c."

1575:—

"Warmistre. — Easter Sessions 18th Elizabeth. Before John Zouch John Thynne John Danvers Walter Hungerford and Thomas Wroughton milit: John Eyre William Brounker John Penruddock Egidius Estcourt William Daniell Christopher Dodington and William Hussey Etc. Order It is orderyd at this Court that if eny person or persones shall at eny tyme hereafter prefer eny bill of Indictm^{t} to the Sessions (unles they shall be Bills of Felony) that the ptie that prosecuteth or pties that shall prosecute or preffer the same Bills or Bill shall give his or their name or names to the Clerk of the Peace of this shire before the Grande Jurye be charged at eny genall Sessions of the Peace hereafter to be holden within this County or els his or their Bill shall not be receivyed unles good matter shall appear to the Court to the contrary."*

1576:—

"Warmister — Sessio pacis ibm lent xvj° die Aplis Regno dne nre Elizabeth dei gra Angl Frand &c xix° coram Johe Zouch Johe Thynne Walter Hungerford Jacobo Mervyn et Johe Danvers milit: et al: Justic: dcte dne Regine ad pacem &c."

1577:—

"Wiltes Warmister — Sessio pacis ibm tent die Martis p'x [proxima] post [ꝑ]† Pasche Anno Regni dne nre Elizabeth dei gra Angl Franc et Hibernie Regine Fidei Defensor &c vicisimo Coram Joha Zouch Waltero Hungerford Jacobo Mervyn Johe Danvers Thome Wroughton milit: Egidio Escourte Johe Eyer xrofro [Christophero] Dodington and Willmo Broncker ar: "

1579:—

"Wiltes — Easter Sessions 22nd Elizabeth John Zouch John Danvers Thomas Wroughton Milit: William Bruncker Michael Earnely Egidius Estcourt Esquires (&c: "

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* For this and some other extracts, and the story of King George III., I have to thank R. W. Merriman, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for Wilts.

† This contraction I think is "sm clm" sanctam celebrationem. The same contraction precedes "Epiphanie."

Same names Easter Sessions next year (1580).

The sessions then and early in the seventeenth century were exercised much about men called "Badgers," (barley-bailiffs, for that seems the probable meaning of the term,[1]) who having been specially licensed by the magistrates were permitted to buy corn in one market and sell it in another, a privilege which the laws of those days denied to men in general. There are many entries and orders relating to this matter, and I have here a copy of a petition addressed by the mayor and magistrates of Bath to the quarter sessions of Wilts:—

"Worshipful after our very hearty commendacons whereas there is not corne sufficyent brought to the markett of our Citty of Bathe to make provision of bread for the inhabitants thereof and others resorting thither and by meanes thereof his majties subjects abidinge and cominge to this Cittye are like to be destitute of bread for their money unless the bakers here or from and by yr allowance may have free libertye and accesse to [Warminster?] marketts to buy wheate to serve their customers with bread wee therefore hartely praye you that you will be pleased that John More of Wraxall in the County of Wiltes husbandman may have for allowance weekly to buy for Mr. John Sarchfield the chief Baker of ye Citty in yor Market of Warminster four quarters of wheate and one quarter of barlee therwth to make breade for the inhabitants and comers to our Cittye. In doing whereof we shall acknowledge ourselves very much beholding to you and will be reddy and pray to requite you the same and so not doubtinge of the grantinge of this our request do leave you to the saffe keepinge of the Highest and do byd you very hartily ffarewell Bathe this Eight of July 1608

Yr lovinge ffryend to ye
Thomas Wyatt, Mayor
William Egerton
John Sarchfield"

Indorsement:—

"To ye R^t Worshipfull
Jas Marden and S^r
Jasper More Knighte and in
their absence to any other His Majestes
Justices in the County of Wiltes
&c These"

At bottom of petition, in different hand:—

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[1] As to "Badger," Bailey's Dictionary gives: "Badger (Bagagier F.) a carrier of luggage. Badger (in Law) one that buys corn or other provisions in one place in order to sell them at another; a Huckster."

"A lycence to be graunted to the former to try to buy weat in Warminster Markett for ye use of Bathe commissioner for the use of the Inhabitants thereof by the assent of the Justices of the same Division."

James Marden and Sir Jasper Moore, Knight, and other justices of the county, to make provision of bread for "his Majesty's subjects alredaye coming to Bath." It is prayed that John More, of Wraxall, Wilts, may be permitted to buy weekly four quarters of wheat and one quarter of barley, for Mr. John Sarchfield, chief baker [?] of the city of Bath to make bread for the inhabitants and visitors. *O tempora! O mores!*

The Badgers suggest a characteristic story of King George III., relating to Warminster. The King, whilst on a visit to Longleat, desired Lord Bath to present to him some of the farmers who frequented Warminster market. Having heard all about it—that it was not a sample market, but that there a sack was pitched as a pledge for the load, he expressed great pleasure at such honest arrangements. Some years afterwards His Majesty, whilst promenading on the terrace at Windsor on a Sunday afternoon, amongst his subjects, recognized one of these Wiltshire farmers. Beckoning the abashed yeoman to him he said "Well! How are they all getting on at Warminster?" "Please your Majesty, I have left Wiltshire and am now farming in Gloucestershire." "Bad! Bad! Bad!" said the King, "you should have stuck to Warminster market and sacks. Along the Severn down come the Badgers and spoil the market! You should have stuck to Warminster and sacks." Warminster men will treasure this dictum of the king of yeomen.

The Sessions records of the county appear very similar to those of the assizes, but at present they are not arranged. I hope some one will be found to glean from them what is worth bringing under your notice. The Sheriff's Turn has been made known to you by Canon Jackson, in the pages of our *Magazine*, and you will re-peruse with pleasure his paper on the Wiltshire Preparations against the Spanish Armada.

III.—Modes of Punishment.

Passing on to *modes of punishment* (see the late Mr. Carrington's

paper, vol. i., *Wilts Magazine*,) Warminster deserves honourable mention. There were only the stocks: two in front of the old Town Hall, one on Bell Hill, one at Upton Scudamore. These, at least in more recent years, were chiefly used for those who would not go to Church. There were no branks or ducking-stools for scolding ladies! Howard was not wanted here,[1] as there was no prison, merely a lock-up or blind-house, and prisoners during the quarter sessions were kept in a malthouse, near the Town Hall.

The old Town Hall, in which the assizes of 1666 were held, was where the King's Arms stands now, but it has entirely disappeared.

In later years, possibly 1711, a building was erected in the mid-street, near the Chapel of St. Lawrence. Here is a drawing. More of a market than a court, a block to traffic. It was removed in the year 1831, when the present building was erected at the sole expense of that munificent nobleman, Thomas, Marquis of Bath. The foundation stone of it was laid on the same day as that of Christ Church, Warminster, by Thomas Phipps, Esq., Chairman of Quarter Sessions.

It was the custom formerly to hang people publicly near the scene of their crimes.

The Lord of Warminster had a gallows here in 1275. Position not known.

Amongst the modes of punishment will be remembered the hideous judgment *peine forte and dure*, only abolished a century since. (For a copy see note, p. 257, vol. xiii., of this *Magazine*.) It was used for those who would not plead but stood mute as of malice. An instance occurs of its use in 1726, and in 1658 Major Strangeways was pressed to death for refusing to plead to a charge of murdering his brother-in-law. The stone was a rough one, and turned by some friend upon his heart the more speedily to terminate his sufferings. I find the following sentence in the Western Circuit Order Book: "Rebecca Donnington for poisoning her husband (summer assize Salisbury 1782). To be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution Saturday

[1] His visit to Salisbury and finding the debtor prisoners there fastened to the links of a chain by padlocks, outside the gaol; the chain fixed in the wall, the prisoners dragging each other about to sell nuts, &c., to passers by will be remembered.

July 21st inst and there burned with fire untill she be dead—respited until Monday and then let Execution be done.[1] In 1789 a reprieve of execution arrived too late—Judge Ashman, on request of Lord Westmoreland. One great solemn spectacle of death there was on the 15th of March, 1813, when George Carpenter and George Ruddock, two agricultural labourers, aged twenty and twenty-one years, were hung on the mound at the back of Frying-pan Clump, Warminster Down, for the murder of Mr. Webb, a farmer of Roddenbury, near Longleat. They had at the same time murdered his maid-servant in a very brutal manner. The ceremony began with a great procession of Wilts Yeomanry Cavalry; two hundred peace officers, with white wands, commanded by Captain Charles L. Phipps; the sheriff's officers; the bailiff of Warminster; the under-sheriff and magistrates of the division, and one hundred gentlemen on horseback; the Vicar of Warminster (whose sermon in Warminster Church first induced the criminals to confess) following the coffin and the cart containing the criminals; the county gaoler, sheriff's officers, and javelin-men; the Yeomanry closing the long procession, whilst detachments of the same corps kept the line of march. The stumps of the gallows will be remembered by many here present.

Warminster was the last place in the county where a public whipping took place. This was in 1838, George Ruddock, for deserting his wife and family. The sentence was "that he be made fast to the breech of a cart and stripped naked from the waist upwards and whipped through the market place from the one end to the other and so down again until his body be bloody and soe to be discharged."

We cannot be too thankful that an end has been put to these revolting and brutalizing exhibitions.

IV.—Men and Events.

Passing by Lord Stourton's murder of the Hartgills (young Hartgill was a feofee of the Chapel of St. Lawrence, Warminster,) and the case of Thomas Thynne, Esq., of the Ten Thousand, already brought before you by Canon Jackson, I may mention a few men and events of Warminster and its neighbourhood.

[1] This punishment was abolished by 30 Geo. III., c. 43.

No Warminster men were out for the rising in 1655, or for that of the Duke of Monmouth. Chief Justice Jefferies came not hither, but I have a document slightly anterior to the Bloody Assize, the order of the Privy Council for the proclamation of King James II., signed by Archbishop Sancroft, &c.,[1] which is as follows.

Order of Privy Council to Wm. Chaffyn, Esq., Sheriff of Wilts, to proclaim James II. as king.[2]

Outside sheet, sealed with the sigillum of the Privy Council, and inscribed with the archbishop's monogram, bears this superscription:

"For his Maties Special service
To our Loving Friend Wm Chaffin Esq^{e}
Sheriff of ye County of Wilts"

Inside sheet:—

"After our hearty commendations It having pleased Almighty God this day to take to his mercy out of this troublesome life Our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second of Blessed memory. And therefore his late Majesty's Only Brother & Heir King James the Second being here Parliament according to the Proclamation herewith sent you signed by us, and sevrall other Peers of this Realme together with another Proclamation Issued by His Ma^{te} Entitled a Proclamation signifying his May^{es} Pleasure that all men being in office of Government at the Decease of the Late King his Ma^{te} most Dear and most entirely Beloved Brother, shall so continue until his Ma^{te} further directions. We do hereby will and require you forthwith to cause the said Two Proclamations to be Proclaimed and Published in the usuall Places within your jurisdiction with the solemnity and ceremony accustomed on the like occasion, and soe not doubting of your ready complyance herein We Bid you heartily farewell from the Council Chamber in Whitehall the 6th of February 1684

Your Loving friends

W Cant	Guilford C S	Rochester P	Halifax C P S
Beaufort			
	Huntingdon	Bathe	J Bridgewater
	Sunderland		
Ailesbury			J fauconburg
	C Craven		
	Middleton		H London
Clarendon"			

The body is not written apparently by any signing, unless it be the archbishop. The signatures of this highly interesting document are apparently genuine.

[1] Sancroft, as Dean of St. Paul's, the munificent patron of the old and present building. One of the seven bishops, "honest pious narrow-minded." Deprived of his archbishopric by William III., after much hesitation.

[2] Miss Chafyn Grove's MSS.

Readers of Lord Macaulay's History will remember that Warminster was the point where men turned towards William III. Hither the unhappy James II. was to have come from the Bishop's Palace, Salisbury, had not the sudden bleeding of his nose prevented him. Here troops were massed and fell away to the Orange Camp at the beck of Churchill, and of Kirke. Justice in Warminster, in England, is Protestant, and desires not to be swayed by foreign bishops and potentates, nor the return of inquisitions, racks, etc., etc.

In 1816 Samuel Newman was executed for obtaining near £500 from Messrs. Phipps, Biggs, and Bannister, bankers of this town, by means of forged bills.

Then there were the agricultural riots of 1830, and the special commission which followed. There may be some present who remember the charge of the yeomanry in Knook fields, and the rioters, who were armed with scythes chiefly, taking to the river Wylye.

In 1839 was the highway robbery of Mr. Dean, of Imber. Every one has heard of the Robbers's Stone, and its story. And there remains but to mention one other. The claimant of the Smyth baronetcy—Thomas Provis—was a national criminal, though a Warminster man. The famous trial at Gloucester Assize, 1853, in which the public took the deepest interest. Prisoner's evidence broken down by Sir Frederick Thesiger (now Lord Chelmsford) owing to an accident, like Louie in the Titchbourne trial—the tradesman in Oxford Street, from whom he had purchased "the family ring," having read the newspaper report, telegraphed in the midst of the cross-examination.

Warminster parish—as a rule—is, remarkably free from crime, and bears an honourable name for its grammar school. Amongst its pupils was Dr. Arnold, of Rugby. But of native authors I find only one, Samuel Squire,[1] son of Thomas Squire, born A.D. 1713, a writer on theology, who was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, A.D. 1761. To this town, if to any, we must award the praise of the great Roman poet:—

> "Sacra Deum, Sanctique patres, extrema per illos
> Justitia excedens terris vestigin fecit."

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii., 348.

The Black Friars of Wiltshire.

By Rev. C. F. R. Palmer.

SIX years after the great mendicant order of friar-preachers—Black Friars, or Dominicans—was founded at Toulouse, it was introduced, in the year 1221, into England. The patronage which Henry III. bestowed on these friars was very powerful in promoting their work. This king summoned friar-preachers into the royal councils, and entrusted weighty matters of state to them, chose the guides of his conscience out of their numbers, and gave munificent aid towards the establishment of those convents, which they erected in his time. Within twenty-four years the order had spread throughout more than two-thirds of the dioceses of England and Wales, all of which it eventually entered, being distributed in fifty-two principal convents of brethren, and one community of sisters. It was probably through the influence of Henry III. that the friars first gained their footing in the diocese of Salisbury.

Wilton.

The friar-preachers entered the town of Wilton (once the episcopal city) in Wiltshire, in or before the year 1245. They secured five or six acres of land here, and began to erect a Church and convent, which were in progress for more than twenty-six years. A small churchyard was also laid out for the burial of the dead. The grounds appear to have been enclosed only with wattled thorns. Several benefactors lent a helping hand to the new religious community, amongst whom were Henry III., William Lungespre, Roger de Sifrewaster, and William de Mauduit, the last three being men of note in the surrounding country. William Lungespre gave eight beams to the friars "ad fabricam ecclesie sue," and the king issued his mandate, July 10th, 1245, to Adam Coks, out of whose bailiwick

they were to be taken, to allow the friars to fell and carry them.[1] The king bestowed thirty marks (£20) for the work of the houses, June 24th, 1246, commanding the money to be paid by the sheriff of Wiltshire out of the amercements imposed by the justices in the forest pleas.[2] Roger de Sifrewaster gave five oaks in the royal bailiwick of J. de Pless', and William de Mauduit, five more in that of James Homes, for all which, July 21st, 1247, the king granted the chiminage.[3] The same William Mauduit gave twenty beams out of his wood, which was within the metes of the royal forest of Selwood; and by a royal mandate of June 26th. 1250, the friars were allowed to carry them without the payment of chiminage.[4] On November 27th following, the king too added his own gift of twenty oaks out of the forest of Chippenham;[5] next day he ordered the sheriff of Wiltshire to have them carried to Wilton,[6] and Dec. 26th, directed the justiciary of the forest to let the friars have the escheats of the same trees.[7] In 1254, the friars enclosed their land, towards doing which they obtained of the king, March 25th, fifteen cart-loads of thorn and underwood out of Graveling wood.[8] During the ensuing four years, the buildings were still going on, towards which the king gave, December 18th, 1255, fifteen oaks, with all their escheats, for timber, out of Gillingham Forest;[9] July 10th, 1256, seven oaks with the escheats, where they could be most fittingly taken for carriage, in Clarendon Forest;[10] and May 25th, 1258, ten oaks to be felled in Gillingham Forest where they would be most at hand for carrying.[11] Even as late as 1271, the cloister was not finished, as appears by a royal mandate to the keeper of the same

[1] Claus. 29 Hen. III., m. 7.
[2] Liberate, 30 Hen. III., m. 7.
[3] Claus. 31 Hen. III., m. 6.
[4] Claus. 34 Hen. III., m. 9.
[5] Claus. 35 Hen. III., m. 23.
[6] Liberate, 35 Hen. III., m. 16.
[7] Claus. 35 Hen. III., m. 22.
[8] Claus. 38 Hen. III., m. 9.
[9] Claus. 40 Hen. III., m. 18.
[10] Claus. 40 Hen. III., m. 6.
[11] Claus. 42 Hen. III., m. 7.

forest, December 15th, to let the friars have six oaks "ad maeremium ad claustrum suum inde construendum."[1] The bounty of the king also supplied firing to the community, by the following mandates for fuel out of Graveling Wood: July 12th, 1252, for five oaks (*rowers*);[2] March 25th, 1254, for six dry leafless *rowers*, taken where the least damage would be done;[3] September 8th, 1260, for six *rowers*;[4] and December 15th, 1271, for four *rowers*.[5] Edward I. gave, out of Clarendon forest, January 21st, 1274-5, three *rowers* for fuel;[6] September 10th, 1276, ten cart-loads of firewood;[7] June 8th, 1277, six *rowers* for fuel;[8] and February 17th, 1279-80, four leafless *rowers* also for fuel.[9]

And thus the friar-preachers went on at Wilton for about thirty-six years. All that time, New Sarum, or Salisbury, was steadily drawing into itself the best resources of the neighbourhood. As an episcopal city, it presented a vast field of labour to an enterprizing religious order, and offered greater advantages than such a town as Wilton, sinking into hopeless decay. The friars had entered the diocese under the sanction of Robert de Bingham, a bishop whom Godwin styles "vir magna et eruditione et pietate;"[10] and whilst Robert de Wykehampton held the see, they removed to Salisbury. Still Wilton was not altogether abandoned: the land and Church had been dedicated to holy uses, and could not be readily secularized. Wilton was, therefore, made a cell to Salisbury, the distance between the two houses being only three miles.

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[1] Claus. 56 Henry III., m. 12.

[2] Claus. 36 Hen. III., m. 10. The *quercus* usually went for timber, and the *robur* for fuel. "Sept keisnes appellez Rowers pour foaill" were given by the king, Aug. 5th, 1404, to the friar-preachers of Gloucester. *Register of Grants of the Duchy of Lancaster*, vol. xv., fol. 69.

[3] Claus. 38 Hen. III., m. 9.

[4] Claus. 44 Hen. III., p. 1, m. 5.

[5] Claus. 56 Hen. III., m. 12.

[6] Claus. 3 Edw. I., m. 23.

[7] Claus. 4 Edw. I., m 4.

[8] Claus. 5 Edw., I., m. 5.

[9] Claus. 8 Edw., I., m. 10.

[10] Godwin, De Præsulibus Angliæ (1743), p. 344.

Salisbury.

It was about the end of the year 1280 that the friar-preachers established themselves in Fisherton-Anger, in the west suburb of Salisbury, divided from the city by the river Avon, and communicating with it by means of Fisherton Bridge. Leland says, "In this Fisschertoun, now a Suburbe to New-Saresbyri, was sins the Erection of the New Toun, an House of Blake Freres buildid not far from Fisherton Bridge."[1] Speed sets down Edward I. and F. Robert de Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, as founders of this new house,[2] whilst Godwin ascribes it wholly to the latter.[3] Edward I. gave the land for the site, and his queen, Eleanor of Castile, was a great benefactress. Out of affection for the order to which he had belonged, F. Robert de Kilwardby might have encouraged his brethren in their enterprise, and given them means to carry it out; but being raised to the rank of a cardinal in 1278, he quitted England towards the end of the summer of that year, long before the friars it seems settled at Fisherton, and he was certainly dead before they began to build.

Edward I. bought some lands of William Dun, and for the weal of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and heirs, granted and confirmed them, May 12th, 1281, "Fratribus Predicatoribus apud Fisherton juxta Sar' commorantibus," to be held in free, pure, and perpetual almoign "ad inhabitandum ibidem, prout sibi magis viderit expedire." These lands had been acquired by William Dun as follows: a tenement granted by Geoffrey le Noton, Henry Dun, and Thomas le Fraunceys; a tenement quitclaimed by Thomas le Fraunceys, of Fisherton, fisherman; a meadow given by Thomas de Ripton; a parcel of meadow quitclaimed by Nicholas de St. Quintin; a tenement with meadow and curtilage given by Elias de Fisserton, fisherman; a meadow by the same Nicholas; and a tenement by William Florentyn. Dun's deed of grant to the king was delivered

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[1] Leland's Itin. (2nd edit.), vol. iii., p. 75.

[2] History of Great Britaine: catalogue of Religious Houses.

[3] Godwin, p. 97.

to F. William de Faversham, who was probably the head or prior of the community.[1]

In 1289, Queen Eleanor of Castile, for her own and her children's souls, granted to the friars, December 8th, the yearly rent of 16*s.* which Sir Henry Fitz *Ancher* had been accustomed to receive "de area quam modo predicti Fatres Predicatores de novo inhabitant," and which he had made over to her in pure, free, and quit almoign. The king, April 17th following, confirmed his royal consort's gift.[2]

Edward I. farther granted, October 2nd, 1293, to the friar-preachers of Sarum, out of Clarendon Forest, "de spinis et tribulis quantum rationabiliter necesse fuerit ad placeam suam ibidem includendam, cum aliis ad hujusmodi clausuram necessariis."[3] In aftertimes, stone walls supplied a surer fence than thorn and bramble.

It was found by inquisition taken at Fisherton, April 29th, 1295, that Henry Fitz Anger, the capital lord, might freely assign 1½*a.* of meadow to the friar-preachers, for enlarging their plot, except that the Earl of Lincoln, of whose fief the land was held in socage, would lose 2*s.* a year when the heir was in his wardship. But as far as the earl was concerned the friars met with no difficulty, for he made them a satisfactory grant.[4] And so, June 1st, in compliance with a writ of privy seal, a royal license in mortmain was granted in accordance with the desires of the religious.[5]

Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in 1298, gave thirteen oaks out of *Penchyt* Wood, belonging to him within the royal forest of Clarendon, to the friars for timber, "ad operationes ecclesie sue faciendas:" and May 28th, the king ordered the justiciary of the forest to allow them to fell and carry the trees.[6]

Edward III., by charter dated October 1st, 1328, confirmed the royal

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[1] Cart. 9 Edw. I., m. 9.

[2] Cart. 18 Edw. I., m. 20.

[3] Claus. 21 Edw. I., m. 3.

[4] Inquis. post mortem, 23 Edw. I., No. 96.

[5] Pat. 23 Edw. I., m. 13.

[6] Claus. 26 Edw. I., m. 8.

grants of May 12th, 1281; April 17th, 1290; and June 1st, 1295.[1]

The Church was dedicated to the Most Holy and Blessed Trinity. It consisted of a choir, nave, aisles, chapel by the choir, belfry with two bells, and twelve or thirteen altars besides the high altar. The altar of St. Barbara had an image of the saint in the middle of it. Pope Boniface IX., on account of the great multitude of people who out of devotion to St. Peter Martyr resorted hither, granted, January 2nd, 1392-3, the indulgence of two years, and as many lents to the faithful who visited the Church on the festival of that saint (April 29th), in honour of whom and St. Anne an altar had been raised.[2]

There was an anchorage attached to this convent.

The general history of this priory is very fragmentary.

Edward I., July 5th, 1284, gave six *rowers* out of Clarendon Forest, probably for firewood.[3] From the same forest, he gave for fuel, seven oaks, April 16th, 1292;[4] six oaks, September 10th, 1294;[5] six oaks, March 6th, 1296-7;[6] seven oaks, April 13th, 1300;[7] and seven oaks, July 18th, 1302;[8] each time all leafless *rowers*. The same king, when he was at Christchurch, Hants, in 1289, sent the friar-preachers at Salisbury, November 16th, an alms of 56*s.* 4*d.* for their food on the vigil, feast, and morrow of All Saints, during his stay at Clarendon.[9] He was at Salisbury in March, 1296-7, and gave them 55*s.* 8*d.* for three days whilst he was at Clarendon (where he spent the Lady-day), and for one day on his arrival at this city.[10] Being here again, December 15th, 1305,

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[1] Cart. 2 Edw. III., m. 9 (No. 29).

[2] Bullarium Ord. Præd., tom II., p. 332.

[3] Claus. 12 Edw. I., m. 4.

[4] Claus. 20 Edw. I., m. 6.

[5] Claus. 22 Edw. I., m. 4.

[6] Claus. 25 Edw. I., m. 21.

[7] Claus. 28 Edw. I., m. 8.

[8] Claus. 30 Edw. I., m. 10.

[9] Rot. elemos. Regis, 17-18 Edw. I.

[10] Lib. gard. (elemos) 25 Edw. I. Additional MSS. of British Museum, No. 7965.

he gave an alms of 33*s.* 4*d.* on his arrival, through F. Henry de Chester, for two days' food.[1]

In 1298 the provincial chapter of the order was held September 8th and following days, at Salisbury. The king, August 24th, commanded the sheriff of Wiltshire to provide the friars with food for two days, one day for himself, the other for Edward, his son.[2]

The princes, Thomas and Edmund, sons of Edward I., about May, 1302, gave an alms of 5*s.* to these friars, through F. Ivo de Langeton, for celebrating masses for their prosperity.[3]

F. John Baldewyne, prior here, and F. John Everard, prior of the friar-preachers of Oxford, March 4th, 1310-1, received the royal gift of ten marks for the food of the friars in their general chapter to be held at Naples,[4] and 40*s.* for the expenses of the friars who should carry the money abroad.[5]

In the time of Edward II., John, son of William de Tynhide, was imprisoned at Old Sarum, and was condemned to death by the justices-itinerant of Wiltshire, for some felonies. On his way to the gallows through Fisherton, F. John de Mulford, F. William de Halmerton, F. John de Bachampton, F. Francis Aubyn, and F. John de Styntesford forcibly rescued the culprit from the hands of the bailiffs, cut the cord that bound his hands, and delivered him from justice. These five friars received a royal pardon, January 6th, 1317-8, for this flagrant transgression of the law.[6]

The provincial chapter was again held here on the feast of St. Augustin (August 28th) and following days, 1319. The king gave £15 to F. John Bristol, provincial, for the food of the friars assembled;

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[1] Liber de hospitio regis, 34 Edw. I.

[2] Rot. de Memorand (L.T.R.), 26 Edw. I., ro. 119.

[3] Rot. de expensis necessariis pro dominis Thoma et Edmundo, filiis regis, 29-30 Edw. I.

[4] This general chapter was held May 30th, etc.

[5] Exit. Scac. Mich., 4 Edw. II., m. 8.

[6] Pat. 11 Edw. II., p. 1., m. 6.

which sum was paid by the sheriff of the county, and it was allowed to him, April 23rd, 1320, in the exchequer.[1]

Thomas de Cotes, August 12th, 1326, acknowledged in Chancery a debt of £10 due to the prior of the friar-preachers of Salisbury; and it was to be paid on the ensuing feast of the Nativity of our Lord.[2]

Edward III. arriving at Salisbury gave an alms of 13*s.* 4*d.* August 18th, 1334, through F. John Walran to the forty friars here.[3] And November 14th following, he gave an alms of 14*s.* to the forty-two friar-preachers, through F. John Camol.[4]

Elias Homes, in 1348, by will directed his body to be buried in the Church of the friar-preachers.[5]

A royal licence was granted, June 20th, 1354, for Mary, Countess of Norfolk, to found a fraternity of secular brethren, in honour of St. Mary, St. Anne, and All Saints, at Fisherton-Anger; and also a chantry of six chaplains here, to celebrate mass for the welfare of the king, and the countess, and the brethren of the fraternity in life and after death. And July 1st following, the grant was repeated, fixing the foundation within the mansion of the friar-preachers; with mortmain-licence for the brethren to receive lands and rents to the value of £40 a year not held of the crown *in capite,* in aid of the maintenance of themselves and chaplains.[6] If the purpose of the countess was ever carried out, it is probable that the *chapel by the choir* mentioned at the dissolution belonged to this brotherhood, of which, however, no distinct trace now exists, even in the fraternity-returns of 1388, or the chantry-certificates of 1548.

Elizabeth de Burg, Lady Clare (third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, by Joan of Acres, daughter of

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[1] Exit. Scac. Pasch. 13 Edw. II., m. 2.

[2] Claus. 20 Edw. III., m. 12 dorso.

[3] Lib. Garder. regis, de annis 8, 9, 10, 11, Edw. III.: Bibl. Cotton, Nero C. viii

[4] Contrarot. Garder. regis, de expens. forinsec. 8-9 Edw. III.

[5] Hoare's Modern Wiltshire, vol. vi., p. 90.

[6] Pat. 28 Edw. III., p. 2, m. 20, 15.

Edward I.) by will dated September 25th, and proved December 3rd, 1360, bequeathed £4 to the friar-preachers and minors of Salisbury.[1]

Robert Strede, of Fisherton, and John Denburg, by their wills, in 1361, desired to be buried in this Church.[2]

The master-general of the order, March 4th, 1389-90, restored F. Henry de Arun, of this convent, to the graces of the order,[3] forfeited probably by some breach of religious discipline.

Thomas Boyton bequeathed a tenement opposite the wool-market to be sold, and the proceeds equally divided between the fabrics of the Churches of the friar-preachers and friar-minors.[4]

Thomas Sextayn, in 1401, by will directed his body to be buried in this convent-church. He bequeathed £10 for glazing the window of the choir, and a piece of silver-gilt plate to the high altar; and left also £20 for finding six brethren of this establishment to celebrate during a whole year for the welfare of his soul.[5]

Sir Roger Beauchamp, Kt., by will dated at New Sarum, April 24th, and proved June 30th, 1406, ordered his body to be buried in the Church of the friar-preachers of Fisherton, near Sarum.[6]

Alice, wife of George Meriot, and widow of William Teynterer, in 1406, left to the convents of friar-minors and friar-preachers here, each a bowl-maser to be kept and used for drinking.[7]

Thomas Meriot, in 1410, directed his body to be deposited in the Church, between two columns on the south side, namely in the middle behind the sepulture of Roger Beauchamp.[8]

F. John de Thursby was a *son* of the convent of Guildford, and became prior here. "Qui vitam religiosissimam ducens, et pater

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[1] Nichol's Royal Wills, p. 23.

[2] Hoare, p. 90.

[3] Ex tabulario mag. gen. ordinis Romano.

[4] Hoare, p. 90.

[5] Hoare, p. 90.

[6] Nicolas' Testamenta Vetusta, vol. i., p. 168.

[7] Hoare, p. 96.

[8] Hoare, p. 90.

[spiritualis] multorum existens, feliciter vitam consummavit, A.D. 1458: cui propicietur Deus. Amen." He died May 10th.[1]

William, Lord Botreaux, who died in 1462, by will dated July 20th, 1415, bequeathed 40*s*. to the friars at Salisbury.[2]

Adam Inwys, a wealthy trader, left legacies to the church-fabrics of the friar-preachers of Winton and Sarum.[3]

Leland visited the library of this convent about the year 1536, and notes that he found here:

Quodlibeta Nicolai Triveti.

Leo papa, de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum.

Historia Britannica mediocri carmine scripta à Bruto ad Caduualadrum, incerto autore, sed qui secutus est Galfredum Monemutensem.[4]

The destruction of this religious house was now at hand. F. Richard Ingworth, suffragan bishop of Dover, being the king's visitor for subjecting the mendicant friars to the royal supremacy, and eventually for their suppression, came to Salisbury in the month of July, 1538, and about the 25th, wrote to Lord Cromwell, that he found the friar-minors of Southampton and the friars of Salisbury "in good order, & so lefte them."[5] But their compliance did not save them. At the beginning of October following, the suffragan-bishop again appeared, and to him, on the 2nd, the prior and thirteen friars surrendered their house.

"M[d].' We y[e] p[i]or & co'ue't of y[e] blacke fryers of Salysbury, w[t] one assent and co'sent, w[t] owte any man' of coaccyon or co'sell, do gyue ow[r] howse In to y[e] hands of y[e] lorde vysytor, to y[e] kynges vse, desyerynge hys grace to be good & gracyous to vs. In wyttenes] we subscrybe ow[r] namys w[t] ow[r] p'per hands, the ij[th] day of october, In ye xxxxte yere of ye raygne of ow[r] most dred sou'eyn lorde, kynge he'ry ye viij[th].

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[1] Obituarium Conventus Guldefordiæ: Tanner's MSS. in Bodleian Library.

[2] Nicolas' Testamenta Vetusta, vol. i., p. 191.

[3] Hoare, p. 96.

[4] Leland's Collectanea (1760), vol. iv., p. 67.

[5] Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII., series 2, vol. lxxxiv., No. 132.

Fr. Joh'es Hesskyns p'or.
Fr. John Chardcow.
fr' Ludouic' memerj.
fr' thomas browne.
fr' Will'ms Preston.
fr' thomas Warden.
fr' Raff Coke.
fr' John Roby.
fr' rogerus Phylyps.
Fr. Joh's Bentley.
fr' Rycharde stonys.
fr' John Buttler.
fr' He'ry Crosse.
fr' pet' treurua." *

The house was in debt to the amount of about £80, which was mostly due to the prior; but he and the other creditors had to be satisfied with £8 16*s.* Two old feather-beds, six poor cushions, and some kitchen-stuff and other things of little value were disposed of for £3 15*s.* 9*d.*, and the visitor advanced the remaining £5 0*s.* 3*d.* He carried off silver weighing fifteen score and three oz.: the rest of the goods (enumerated in an inventory) he delivered to John Shaxton, gent., and John Goodale, bailiff of the city, to keep for the king.

The blacke freers of salisbery.

"This indenture makith mencyon of all the stuffe of the blacke freerys of salisbery receyued by the lorde visitor vnder ye lorde p'uey seale, for ye kingis grace, & d'd to m^r^ iohn shaxton gentilma' & to iohn goodale baly of salisbury, to se & order to ye kingis vse, wth the howse & all the app'ten^a^ncs, till ye kingis plesure be further knowen.

The quere.

It' at ye hei alt' a tabill of alabast'.
It' iiij small candelstickis laten.
It' ij alt' clotheis y^e^ on nowth'.
It' iiij pore pelowys w^t^ ij small curteyns.
It' a clothe before ye alt' white & rede w^t^ rokis.
It' an other alt' clothe before ye alt' w^t^ garterys lining clothe.
It' a canapey ou' ye sacrament.
It' a vestment blewe worstede.
It' a goodly fert' copp' & gillt for reliks.
It' in ye quere a litill lampe laten.
It' an egill & ij gret candelsticks laten, ye wch father Browne cleymithe, but y^is^ xij yeris thei haue be[en] ther in y^e^ inventory of y^e^ convent before: w'for I wolld not allowe y^t^ he had y^em^ awey, but I causeed him to bring them ageyne.
It' a lecterne clothe of dorneks on y^e^ lect'ne of timb'.
It' on holy water stoppe.

* Treas. of Rec. of Exch., vol. $B\frac{2}{19}$: Submission of Monasteries, No. 5.

It' v cruetis stollen.
It' ij branchis of iron for tapers.
It' a sacry bell.
It' a peyer of organys.
It' stallys & organ soler sileid.
It' ij formys.

The chirche.

It' xj alters, ij of y^{em} tabills, iij ymagery, on' dobill tabill of alabast' a nother large alter w^{t} seinte barbara in ye mydds alabast'.
It' iij other tabillis of alabast'.
It' iiij sacry bellis.
It' a feyer candelbeme.
It' feyer setis before ye altarys.
It' feyer setis before eu'y alt' in ye chirche.
It' certeyne tu'bbis in the chirche, on' of them barryd abowte w^{t} yron.

In the chapell bi ye quere.

It' an olld chest & a frame for ye sepulcre.
It' a bere & a forme.
It' in the stepill ij bellis.

The vestre.

It' ij feyer chestis.
It' ij stolis for chaunters w^{t} bullizans cop'.
It' vj cuscheynis, a crosse of cop' w^{t} Mary & iohn w^{t} a staffe.
It' a tabill & on yt a sute of vestments, prist, deco', & s'bdecon, veluit, w^{t} many small perles on yt, ye offeras w^{t} bers & castells very p'cius, w^{t} diu'se olld buckrams on the tabill.
It' prist decon. & subdecon redde silke w^{t} garters and seinthe georgs crosseis.
It' a sute white silke, prist, deco', & s'deco', w^{t} blew offeras.
It' ij other sutis, prist, deco' & sb'decon, white silke.
It' prist, decon, & s'bdecon, white bustian.
It' prist, decon, & s'bdecon, diu'se colors silke.
It' prist, decon, & s'bdecon, durneks.
It' prist, deco', & s'bdeco' blacke worstede, ye prist damaske.

Seingill Vestmentis.

It' ij white sengell, & ij blewe sengeill.
It' a not' seingeill.
It' a blacke seingeill brancheid veluit.
It' iij seingeill for lent, fustian.
It' vj olld chesabills w^{t} owt albis or other.
It' xvij copis of diu'se colors as y^{ei} ley on ye presse.
It' xxij corporas cases, w^{t} viij corporas.
It' ix sirples, good & badde, w^{t} iij rochetis.
It' v pore alt' clotheis to hange before ye alt'.
It' v olld aut' clothis to hange.
It' ij olld cou'letis.

It' ij aut' clotheis red silke, w^{t} stripis golld.
It' iij small corse aut' clotheis to hange before altars.
I' a gret meny of clotheis for lent.
It' a gret clothe to hange before ye rode.
It' in ye lowe vestre, ij basons, w^{t} ot' hab'dasche of litil value.

The kechin.

It' iiij small brasse potts & iij brasse pannys.
It' ij ketills, on cobiron, & ij rackis.
It' a barre of yron w^{t} iij hengills for pottis.
It' ij brocheis small.
It' a chafer & a grediron.
It' a peyer pothokis & a colender.

The Bakehowse.

It' a kneding trowe & a bulting hutche.
It' a buschell & an olld hutche.

The hall.

It' ij tabills w^{t} ij peyer of trestellis.
It' a cubberde & ij formys.
It' a feyer benche at ye hye borde sileid & a portall.

The buttery.

It' iiij tabillclotheis & ij towellis.
It' a bason & an ewar peut'.
It' ij salt sellars peut'.

The chamberis.

It' a cownt' & a yoynyd forme.
It' ij olld coferis & iiij cuscheyns.
It' in ye ynn' chamb' a cownter.
It' iij formys, a chayer, & a rownd tabill.
Shetis or blankits non.

Beside all y^{is} stuffe before wretin, was solld to paye the dettis & chargis, iiij olld fet'beddis, w^{t} vj pore cuschenys, w^{t} certeyne pore stuffe of y^{e} kechin, w^{t} oder abrode of litill value, for y^{e} wch was taken iij^{li}. xv^{s}. ix^{d}. The dettis drewe, as by y^{e} accowntis did appere, aboue $\frac{xx^{li}}{iiij^{li}}$., but all the substans was to the prior, so y^{t} y^{e} p^{l}or & all war satisfied w^{t} viij^{li}. xvj^{s}, so y^{t} y^{is} howse ys clere owt of dett: and y^{t} ys to be notyd y^{t} all y^{e} evidens of y^{is} howse be suarly leid in a chest aloft in the vestre; and further yt ys to be rememberyd y^{t} y^{e} visitor hath laide owt aboue y^{e} mony here receyved v^{li}. iij^{d}. for y^{e} wch he hathe w^{t} him, to y^{e} kingis vse, of silu' y^{t} longid to y^{is} howse $\frac{xx}{xv}$ vnc' & iij vnc', & so payde his owne chargis, and thus ys departyd aft' iij days being here.

p' me Joh'em Saxton.
p' me ioh'em goodale." *

* Ibidem, No. 11.

With respect to lead, among "The Housses of Freres lately geven vp, which haue any substa'ce of leayd," was returned, "The blake freres of Salisbury, half the queir, twoo Iles of the Church, & all the cloystr', w^t^ div'se gutt's." [1]

After the dissolution, the superfluous houses and buildings were sold to John, Earl of Bath, who seems to have pulled them down, and destroyed the Church. The lands were thus tenanted:—

Site of the house called *the Pryors Lodginge*, with all buildings, gardens, etc., let to the Earl of Bath, 25*s.* 5*d.*

Tenement with garden adjacent, by the great stream near Fisherton Bridge, with the fishery along the whole length, leased for 53*s.* 4*d.*, and the pasture and herbage of the churchyard adjacent for 8*s.* 4*d.*, to Ann Mussell, June 18th, 1537, by the prior and convent, for 33 years, 61*s.* 8*d.*

A garden within the precincts, with a small house in it, leased to Thomas Potecarye alias Eston, April 4th, 1538, by the prior and convent, 6*s.* 8*d.*

A dwelling built over the gate of the priory, which Charles Bulkeley lately inhabited, with a garden adjacent, leased, August 3rd, 1538, by the prior and convent, to William Michell and Agnes his wife, for their lives, 20*s.*

A tenement near *Canningmersche*, late in the tenure of John Parvycote, now leased, May 14th, 1537, by the late prior and convent, to John Davis, innholder; with the dressing of the trees for fencing, etc., etc., 6*s.* 8*d.*

Garden within the walls, called the *Pryors Garden*, let to the Earl of Bath, 3*s.*

Another garden called the *Ankeres Garden*, let to the same, 3*s.*

Garden called the *Covent Garden*, let to the same, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Garden within the walls, let to Denis Shomaker, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Garden let to John Elys, 15*d.*

Garden within the walls, let to Nicholas Skynner, 4*s.*

Garden let to Alexander Wikes, 2*s.*

Garden let to John Shorston, 2*s.*

Garden within the walls, let to John Browne, 2*s.*

Garden near the church-gate, let to John Churcheyate, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Garden within the walls, let to Richard Stede, 2*s.*

Garden let to Roger Moteley, 3*s.* 4*d.*

Garden within the walls, let to John Sidnam, 20*d.*

Garden let to John Skynner, 2*s.*

Total yearly rents in 1539 and till 1544, £8.*

The particulars for the royal grant were made out, January 6th, 1544-5, for William Byrt and John Pollerd. The rents were re-

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[1] Treasury of Receipt of Exchequer, vol. $A\frac{3}{11}$: Inventories of Frieries, fol. 4.

* Ministers' Accounts, 30-31 Hen. VIII., No. 136, and five following years.

turned as above; and it was certified that the "Woods and vnderwoods in and vppon the p'misses bene none but suche as ben in the hedges that done enclose the Gardeynes aforeseid."[1] On April 7th following, the whole was sold, with other ecclesiastical property, to John Pollard, Esq., and William Berte, yeoman, and their heirs and assigns for ever, to be held as of the royal manor of Bultford, by fealty only, and not *in capite*; with all issues from the previous Michaelmas.[2]

When the convent of Salisbury was dissolved, the cell of Wilton fell to the crown. Four acres of land were then let to Jane Clement, widow, for 26*s.* 8*d.* a year, and the site of the house to the Earl of Bath for 3*s.* 4*d.* a year: the churchyard, containing 1*r.*, was let to the same nobleman for 12*d.* a year, but returned nothing to the royal exchequer for the first twelvemonths, as it was unoccupied. The renting of the premises began at Ladyday, 1539, and brought in 31*s.* a year.[3] Henry VIII. sold all to Sir William Herbert, one of the royal councillors, but did not complete the bargain before his death. Then Edward VI. conveyed to the knight, July 10th, 1547, *inter alia*, the whole site of the cell, with the churchyard and meadow and all buildings, etc., to be held by him, his heirs and assigns for ever, by fealty only, and in free socage, and not in capite, and gave him all issues from the Michaelmas of 1544.[4]

The house or priory at Fisherton stood on the bank of the river near Fisherton Bridge, opposite the sites where the common county gaol and the infirmary were afterwards erected. The cell at Wilton stood in what is now called West Street, but no traces of the house or the cell remain.[5]

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[1] Particulars for Grants, 36 Hen. VIII.; Pollerd and Byrt, grantees.

[2] Pat. 36 Hen. VIII., p. 20, m. 24 (32).

[3] Ministers' Accounts, *ut supra*.

[4] Pat. 1 Edw. VI., p. 4, m. 26 (23).

[5] Hoare, p. 58.

Observations on the "Water-Supply" of some of our Ancient British Encampments,

More Particularly in Wiltshire and Sussex.

By Sir George Duckett, Bart.

THE earthworks of which the higher land in England, such as the Wiltshire and Sussex Downs, exhibit so many examples, were, according to general opinion, military encampments, some previous to, others coeval with, the Roman conquest. But were these earthworks intended as military encampments, or as sites for religious purposes, or, according to the views of some antiquaries, as combining both these purposes? The latter is so greatly at variance with either primitive or modern warfare, that we put no faith whatever in any such combination. The designation usually assigned to them, therefore, is probably correct; but the question rests entirely on the ability to prove a supply of water sufficient for the use of the garrison, and failing this, we imagine that the camp theory falls to the ground. It is not enough to particularise that such and such an earthwork is provided with a single or double vallum, and so forth. The water-supply must be accounted for. The occupant, even if such earthworks were simply entrenchments thrown up for temporary defence, must of necessity have had access to water, and in the case of permanent encampments, this point is altogether conclusive on the subject. We allude in these remarks to camps on high ground *only*, quite removed from rivers or water, as on the tops of downs, and our object will be to show in what way the supply of water was apparently obtained.

It seems in treating of these ancient earthworks to be very much

the habit of antiquaries to allude to them indifferently as British and Roman encampments. It is very doubtful in the greater number of instances, for example, at Ogbury, near Stonehenge; Winklebury (called Vespasian's Camp), near Amesbury; at Oldbury, or Codford Circle, in Wiltshire; with Cissbury and Mount Caburn, in Sussex; whether these earthworks were in any case Roman encampments. Such positions have not ready access to water, and one of the first principles in the laying out of camps with the Romans, save under very exceptional circumstances, was the proximity to water. Hyginus, in his "Castrametation," observes on this point as follows: "Flumen sive fontem habere debent in qualicunque positione," therefore the earthworks, such as those just named, totally removed from all water, can scarcely come under the Roman category. There is no difficulty whatever in accounting for a supply of water by means of pipes, &c., in cases of encampments on lower ground, brought as it thus might be from some higher source, but the case is very different with earthworks in higher latitudes. As observed, such positions are generalised as encampments, but we do not remember to have met with any endeavour to account for the water-supply, upon which alone the term "encampment" can be maintained.

A recent visit to the above-named Wiltshire earthworks, to the presumed camp or entrenchment on the summit of Cissbury Hill, near Worthing, and to another on Mount Caburn, near Lewes, convinced us that the circular pits or excavations, in many cases adjacent to, and within the area of these earthworks formed by the bank or vallum, have been wrongly dealt with. Their manifest use was for collecting the rain water; and looking at the matter in a military point of view, unless the question of water can be established, we much doubt whether such earthworks could ever, under any circumstances, have been employed as encampments, for, even assuming that the art of sinking Artesian and other wells, now so thoroughly understood, could have been then employed, a matter rendered impracticable from the dominating position of these heights, it would have been simply impossible to have transported water from the low grounds or valleys in quantity sufficient for the

requirements of even a moderate-sized camp. The "fatigue parties" (to employ a modern phrase), to be told off for this purpose, would have taken nearly the whole strength of the encamping force, and would have had, even in barbarous times, to have been guarded by a strong "escort" in a hostile country.

We submit the foregoing remarks, however, with a certain degree of reserve, seeing that the use of the pits in question has been, by a Sussex antiquary, otherwise explained, viz., for religious purposes; and should this hypothesis be capable of undoubted proof, the camp-theory could not be maintained, or with it the necessary water-supply. There is doubtless some ground for this supposition, inasmuch as the worship of certain deities was undoubtedly conducted on the tops of hills. Still, we think there can be no doubt, notwithstanding this belief in their use on the part of some, that the garrison of these works, assuming them as encampments, depended entirely for water on the circular pits alluded to, and employed them in the same manner as the "sheep ponds," which exist on the Yorkshire Wolds, the Wiltshire and Sussex Downs, and other high land. There are, in fact, at the present time two such sheep ponds at the base of Mount Caburn and Cissbury Hill. It is also not impossible that parts of the actual fosse might have been utilised for this purpose, of which there are indications in all these earthworks, and the humid climate of Britain would undoubtedly have enabled the occupants of these early camps to organise a water-supply by the aid of such reservoirs. The art of "puddling," as it is called, to prevent filtration in soils unadapted for holding water, seems so simple, that from primitive to modern times no difference can have been required in the operation of rendering water-tight the bottoms of such reservoirs by that process.

These pits, in the same way as the sheep or wold-ponds in question, would have been kept full, partly by the rain that fell, partly by the aqueous vapours of our humid atmosphere, and the dews or water thus deposited, to which in a similar way the fogs and mists. which hang about the tops of high ground, would equally contribute. In fact, such reservoirs on the Sussex Downs have been long known as "dew ponds," a denomination which quite accords with a belief in

the additional source of supply of water thus attracted.[1] The Wiltshire earthworks, from the fact of their having been more disturbed and broken up, afford less conspicuous examples of these cloud or dew ponds, but it is not, we think, possible to account for a permanent water-supply in any other way, for the amount of water which could otherwise have been brought up, as observed, by the aid of parties told off for that duty, would have been totally inadequate for even a moderately strong garrison, and an unsafe undertaking in the face of a hostile population.

A writer on the "Military Earthworks of the Southdowns," implies that the encampment at Cissbury, in Sussex, was dependent for its water-supply from the wells of Applesham, some two miles distant, but this is quite improbable for the reasons we have given.

By lapse of time, of course, the artificial stratum formed by means of "puddling," which retained the water, would necessarily have become absorbed or destroyed, and in some cases entirely washed away, leaving simply the dry pits as we now see them.

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[1] The following remarks from The Editor to the writer of this paper, are affixed as a suitable note to the present water-supply theory, which seems to have been one also long held by himself and other Wiltshire antiquaries: "I live (observes the Rev. A. C. Smith) in a district where such 'cloud ponds,' or 'dew ponds,' are in constant use. The farmers of late have learned their value, and I can point to many new ones, made and puddled at great expense on the tops of our hills. I have seen such in the process of making, and it is really wonderful how the clouds at night keep them full, discharging water enough to admit of the daily supply of large flocks of sheep, as well as evaporation. The difficulty is to fill them in the first place, and this is done by means of snow, which is carted into them in great quantities, when opportunity occurs."

"Kestrels and Crows."

To the Editor of the Wiltshire Magazine.

"My Dear Sir,

"I last year had a rare opportunity of observing the kestrel during the two months of its breeding-time, the particulars of which I now send you in accordance with your request. One morning, about the 20th of May, last year, I was told there were two strange eggs laid in a hen's nest, at my Down Barn, and my informant who 'looked up' the hen's eggs there added that he thought ''twere a Haak had led 'em there.' On examining the spot I found one had been added to the two which the man had observed, and fearing lest some mischance might occur, by their being taken or destroyed, I took a specimen myself. Two more were then laid. The nest was in an old water-trough, put up on the beams of an open skilling, within reach of the ground. The birds at once began sitting, and I was delighted to find that, although a day's shearing was done at the barn on the 2nd June, my people so respected my fancy that they did not cause the old bird to forsake, although the door opened back almost against her. When the young appeared my interest increased, for I much wished for evidence to support the theory I had always held, that the the kestrel was more useful than destructive. A porch in a frame barn is built at right angles to the skilling, so, by raising a ladder inside this, and boring a large gimlet-hole, I had an opportunity of looking into the nest, and to the end of the trough, about 10 feet away. For the first few days the young ones were daintily provided with the brains of young lapwings; the rest of the body, I noticed, was carried to the far end of the trough, I suppose to be used for the parents' supper. In the course of a few days the young consumed all brought to them, at first at intervals of fifteen to twenty minutes at furthest. The parents' approach seemed to be known very early to the young, and was shewn by a peculiar movement without noise. The old birds, I thought, had an idea they were watched, looking round towards my little 'look-out' some times with great suspicion, and often hopping back to the trough edge to reconnoitre. Another very busy day's shearing took place about 30th June, before the young ones were fledged, but the parents took it as a matter of course, and never left off the food supply. I am very sorry to be obliged to say my favorable opinion of the character of my pets must be very much modified, when I state that at the lowest computation as many as one hundred young lapwings were sacrificed to bring up this family of four. On many occasions I caused the old birds to go off, that I might examine what they had brought, but only twice was the fare varied, when a solitary mouse and young linnet severally composed

the fare. Just imagine, what would be the food were there no lapwings? How the young partridges would be picked up in a district where two old and four young kestrels were ravaging about through July! I had almost forgotten to say that in the fir trees surrounding the barn a pair of my old favourite carrion crows had reared their family, three in number. You will not be surprised to hear that the savage fellows were constantly coming in contact with the hawks, and much fighting and screaming was the consequence. It so happened, by an accident the crows were bereaved of two of their family, and I believe that from July till March 1st the old birds were seldom separated from the survivor. I saw the three nearly every day in the neighbourhood. I mention this to shew how attached the bird is to its young, thoroughly educating them for nine months at least. Since March I have missed one, whilst the others are evidently hoping the weather may soon improve, in order that they may make preparations for another family. I could not succeed in rearing one of these crows, but have succeeded in partially taming one of the hawks.

"Believe me, Dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"*2nd April*, 1878." "Fred. Stratton."

In a second letter, dated July 1st, 1878, Mr. Stratton writes:—

"I have had considerable trouble since I wrote to you about my crow-pets. The wire-worm increased so much on the lands where the crows made their haunt, and had their nest, that I could not make it out until I was told by my carter that the crows prevented the rooks from coming within a quarter-of-a-mile of the wood. Immediately after I heard this, I myself saw the same thing occur, so was compelled to get rid of my protegés at once. In two days the rooks came again as usual, and almost cleared a small piece of late barley, proving that sometimes they really do harm.

The kestrels have again taken to the box I put up inside the owl-hole at the barn, adjoining which they bred last year, and the young ones, four in number, are now nearly fledged."

ON THE

Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury.

By the Rev. Arthur P. Morres, Vicar of Britford.

(Continued from Vol. xvii., *page* 127.*)*

PART II.—INSESSORES.

IN continuing my papers on the ornithology of this district, I feel that I have undertaken a much harder task than I at first anticipated. Directly you turn your back upon the *Raptores*, which (like some overbearing loud-voiced bullies of another biped race,) *force* themselves upon your notice whether you will or no, and endeavour to trace out the habits of the more modest and retiring species of the feathered race, which love to live unnoticed and unknown, you feel that Nature will not allow you to enter her Penetralia, unless you make her laws not simply a recreation, but a serious and persevering study. She demands from you both careful attention and ungrudging labour, would you be able to unravel her mysteries; and how much there is yet to learn, even in the well-beaten track of British ornithology, the new species which constantly have to be added to our lists sufficiently testify. And may there not be some other species even yet undiscovered,which occasionally wander to these our shores, renowned for hospitality to all refugees of whatever race, saving to those who come clothed in feathers of an unknown hue, but which latter receive, if scant courtesy, yet so much attention, that they are literally killed by it, and are forthwith perpetuated, without their consent, in the public and private collections of our numerous ornithological friends. Yes! we live and learn, and it is most pleasant to find that under our very eyes, and in our own parishes, where we are sometimes tempted to think there is such

little variety to be found, all kinds of new and interesting facts are ever and anon occurring to reward the diligent observer. Do we not occasionally find that strangers come from a distance to our own boundaries to find some rarity in the natural history world, which we on the spot never even knew was located amongst us? And sometimes do we not ourselves roam far afield to search out some longed-for object of desire, when we are but like the man who hunts for his lost spectacles in every imaginable place, but the right one, finding out at last that he has them on his own nose all the time. Yes! the trout has been, as often as not, lying under our own bank, while we have been diligently flogging the water under our neighbours'. I do not, indeed, mean to say that every one is going to find some rare occurrences in his own district directly he begins to search for them, but I *do* say that every one had better thoroughly hunt up his own district first ere he goes further afield, and he will often, nay generally, be rewarded, by finding his own habitat much richer in local occurences than at first he had any idea of. But I must not digress any longer, lest I tire where I would fain interest; and I would only suggest that if to those who have some right to think themselves practical ornithologists, there is much room left for learning and observation, to those who really know but little about the birds of their native parishes and districts there is an almost inexhaustible fund of interest lying open before their eyes, if they will only keep them open, or in any case make better use of them, than a neighbouring friend of mine who a few days ago asked me if I had heard anything more of those *Red legged Bustards*! I had mentioned to him a little while ago, and who could not understand my irrepressible burst of merriment, which I fear may have struck him as being somewhat uncourteous, as I enlightened him by saying that I concluded he was referring to some *Rough legged Buzzards*, which had lately been captured in these parts. But it was all the same to him, though not to me; as he had informed a neighbouring friend on my authority that I had assured him that some wonderful specimens of the former description had been lately killed near here, and his friend, a perfect stranger to me, was coming over to see me about it.

But to proceed at once to the subject-matter in hand. I will only premise that it is not so much my intention to give a description of the birds themselves, as to mention whatever occurrences of our rarer species I can with due enquiry substantiate, and to jot down any facts concerning those which occur more commonly amongst us, which I think may possibly be interesting to the general reader.

DENTIROSTRES.

Laniadæ.

Lanius Excubitor. "The Great Grey Shrike." By an easy transition we seem to pass from the Raptores to that section of the Insessores (or perchers), distinguished by the term *Dentirostres*, or tooth-billed, amongst which, both as to size, colour, and character, the ash-coloured, or Great Grey Shrike stands out conspicuously in the fore-ground. This tribe of birds is commonly known by the name of the *Laniadæ*, or Butcher-Birds: a title they justly earn by the peculiar manner in which they are accustomed to secure their prey, loving to impale their victims with their deeply-notched bill on some sharp thorn, and then to tear it to pieces at their leisure. The Great Grey or "Magpie" Shrike (as it is sometimes called) is a bird no one could see without at once noticing. Its light grey colour, with the jet black band running across the eye, giving it a peculiar appearance, unlike any other bird. It is by no means common in this country, and it is not likely to be overlooked when it *does* visit us. I have several notices of its occurrence in our more immediate neighbourhood. Two Grey Shrikes, as I am informed by Mr. Norwood, of the South Western Railway, were shot, about the year 1853, in Hurstbourne Park, Whitchurch, by a keeper of Lord Portsmouth, named Ford, as they were flying amongst the big thorn bushes in the park. This was in the month of May, and in November, 1868, Mr. Norwood saw one himself at Pirbright, between Woking and Farnborough. The bird was sitting on the top of a little fir tree, about twenty-five yards from the railway, and did not fly off while the train was in sight. "I was driving the engine at the time;" he writes me word, "and I have often noticed the Red-backed Shrike, sitting on the telegraph wires whilst all the train

has run by, apparently taking no notice whatever of either train or noise." In 1845 one of these birds was shot near Mere by a Mr. E. Coward, as I am informed by Mr. E. Baker, of that place; while another was seen by Mr. Ryatt, of Upton Scudamore, in 1875. This bird was patiently watched for for a long time by him, but he could not succeed in getting near enough to secure it. In the same year another specimen was procured near Sherborne, and was sent to Mr. Hart, of Christchurch, for preservation. And I myself procured a nice specimen for my own collection, which was killed in the parish of Bishopstone, about six miles from Salisbury, in the Easter week of 1876, by a nephew of Mr. Sidford, of that place. It was shot on some willow trees that fringe the bank of a little stream running through that parish.

I believe there is no duly authenticated instance of this bird breeding in England, but I have a record of its nest having been taken close to Salisbury by a Mr. W. King, from whom I have made the closest enquiries, which satisfy me that he was not mistaken as to the identity of the bird, and I therefore think it worth while to give his letter *in extenso*: "The following is a description of the Grey Shrike's nest taken by me about the end of May, or the beginning of June, 1839, about midway between the gas-house wall and the river, called Picked Point, on the left-hand side of the lane, at Fisherton, Salisbury. The nest was built in the upright forks of a very strong thorn hedge, interwoven with brambles. It was a large compact nest, composed of dry grass, moss, and small fibre-roots on the outside, and lined with soft downy feathers, intermixed with a little hair. It contained four eggs of a pale ash colour, I think about the colour of wood-ashes, thickly marked at the larger end with spots, and stripes, or blotches, of a yellowish-red colour. My cousin, Mark Bowey, who is now dead, was with me at the time, and at first I tried to lift him up to the nest, but the old birds came flying round our heads, and screaming at such a rate, that we were afraid of them, and I let him drop. We then commenced driving them away with sticks, and dry cow-dung, and succeeded in driving them to some trees at a little distance. I then took the nest myself, by cutting away some of the bushes; but before I could get at it,

the old birds came back with greater fury. Sometimes they would come at our heads like an arrow, so quick that we could hardly see them, almost touching our heads, and at the same time uttering a loud shriek, and making a whirring noise with their wings. They continued to fly round us until we got quite out of the field by the gas-house wall.

"I also shot a Grey Shrike, I think it was about the beginning of September, 1848, at Milford, as it was pitched on an ash tree that then stood on a high bank on the right-hand side of a lane leading from Milford Bridge to Clarendon. There were two of the birds in the same tree. When I shot the one the other flew down, like a stone, into the thick hedge, but before I could re-load the gun, it made off into a thick wood on the other side of the field, towards Laverstock. I took the bird home, and it was there for a day or two. I then threw it away, as I did not know anyone in Salisbury who stuffed birds at that time. I am certain that this was the same kind of bird of which I took the nest in Gas Lane." And then follows an accurate description of the bird, in the end of his letter.

After receiving this letter I wrote to King again, asking him various questions, about the occurrence, to satisfy myself that he had not mistaken this species for that of the Red Backed Shrike, and his answers, readily given, certainly carried entire conviction to my mind of the accuracy of his statements. He told me he remembered the *date* accurately, as it was the year before he left for France, where he had an engagement for five years. He showed the nest he had taken in 1839 (and the bird he shot in 1848), at the time to an old bird-fancier in Salisbury, of the name of Kite, who at once told him it was the Great Grey Shrike, a very rare bird in England. He saw the bird also, more than once, when in France—on one occasion being in company with a man named Stone, who had formerly been a keeper in Marlborough Forest, who had shot a pair there, and "had been told by the young gentlemen of the College that it was the Great Grey Butcher Bird"—and in 1853, when King had again returned to Salisbury, on a man of the name of Hart, a great bird-fancier, coming to live there, he described *to him* also the taking of the nest, which had made a great impression on his mind. On Hart

asking him if he should know the bird again if he saw it, King replied he "should know it from a hundred different kinds of birds," and on taking him to his collection he at once pointed out the Grey Shrike as being the bird he had shot, and the nest of which he had taken. I have King's letters still by me, and should be glad to show them to anyone who took an interest in the matter.

Lanius Collurio. "The Red Backed Shrike." This species, unlike the former one, is by no means uncommon in Wilts, and being one of our summer migrants, and the cock bird being dressed in an exceedingly striking garb, it is seldom passed by without notice. It is by no means so powerful a bird as the last-named species, and confines its attentions chiefly to the larger insects, such as bumble bees, dragon flies, and beetles, but it also attacks small birds occasionally, I believe, as well as frogs and mice. One of the keepers at Clarendon told me he regarded it in no friendly spirit, and killed every one he came across, as he assured me, when the young Pheasants were newly hatched and just able to run outside the coops, they would dart down upon them and despatch them with one blow of their strong notched bill. I have noticed insects impaled by these birds on the hedge between this and Salisbury, but have never seen young birds or reptiles served in this manner. I should think there is scarcely a parish for some little distance round Salisbury that does not poseess its pair of Red-Backed Shrikes. This summer a pair frequented the neighbourhood of our churchyard, and hatched their young in safety. Mr. Norwood told me a striking instance, as exemplified in this species, of the quick way in which a widowed mate will at once repair its loss. He killed three male Red-Backed Shrikes at the same place, on three successive days, the female having already laid her complement of eggs and begun incubation. The hen bird he purposely left unmolested; but wanting some specimens of the cock bird, he killed these three in rotation, and although he actually shot one or two of the birds off the very bush where the female was sitting, she did not forsake her nest or eggs. There is a peculiarity said to attach to the hen bird of this species, which in its usual garb differs considerably from its mate, viz., that in very old specimens the female assumes more or less the attire of the male

bird, a fact which will be realised as not unlikely when it is remembered that in its congener, the Great Grey Shrike, and in other kindred species, there is little if any difference between the sexes. During the summer of 1877, near Wokingham, in Berkshire, I got within a few feet of one of these birds under an old pollard oak, and was convinced that the specimen before me was one of these old females. The bird was not aware of my presence, so that I had a long and careful scrutiny of its plumage at a distance of not more than five or six feet off, and though its garb was undoubtedly that of the male, there was a dull greyish tint over the whole of its feathering, that I had never before noticed in a cock bird. I had no means of securing it, but felt convinced that it was one of these old females.

Lanius Rutilus. "The Woodchat Shrike." This species, with the exception, perhaps, of *Lanius Minor* (which latter bird has only quite recently been added to our British list), is one of the rarest of all our visitors, and though there have been occurrences recorded in many of the neighbouring counties, I cannot hear of one in Wilts. The nearest to us is a specimen which I have seen in Mr. Hart's collection at Christchurch, and which was killed not many years since near that place. Mr. Harbour, the naturalist at Reading, told me of one that was killed about six years ago at Wyfold Court, near Henley, and which passed through his hands for preservation. The Rev. A. C. Smith also, I see, records an instance of its capture in Somerset, and Meyer another in Surrey, so that it is curious that no occasion has been recorded of its having been either seen or captured in our own county.

Muscicapidæ.

Muscicapa Grisola. "Spotted Fly-catcher." Quite common, one of our latest migrants, lively and familiar; a bird that speaks to us of summer-weather, and would be sadly missed from its place on the garden fence or railing.

Muscicapa Atricapilla. Rare, but I think gradually becoming more common amongst us than formerly. The cock bird could hardly escape without notice, from its clearly-defined black-and-white plumage, though the female, unless seen close at hand, might

more easily remain unobserved. I have had several instances of the occurrence of this bird in our more immediate neighbourhood lately brought before my notice. King, the bird-stuffer at Warminster (and a better is not to be found anywhere for giving the true character and spirit of a bird), tells me that they are not altogether uncommon in that district. He has had one or two brought to him regularly during the last few years, and sometimes he has had four at a time. There is an old bird-catcher in my own parish, of the name of Champion, who is well versed in all the smaller birds of the neighbourhood (having plied his trade regularly on our downs for forty years, or more, long before the "Bird Act" came into operation), and he tells me that he knows the bird well, and has several times trapped it on the downs in the neighbourhood of Martin. In 1860 Mr. Norwood, of Fisherton, obtained a pair from the Salisbury district. Another was shot at Pertwood, near Mere, in May, 1872. One was seen by J. A. T. Powell, Esq., of Hurdcott House, as he informs me, as he was returning from Church one Sunday morning during the spring of 1877—a cock bird in fine plumage. Another male bird I also procured for my own collection, which was killed about the same time near Basingstoke. And during this autumn I myself saw a bird on the roadside between Twyford and Wokingham, when driving with a friend, which made me exclaim, "Look, look, there's a Pied Fly-catcher," and though I could not get a second glimpse of it, I felt I was not mistaken. In other districts besides this, this pretty bird seems to have been noticed more frequently than formerly, and it is only to be hoped that ere long it will become not so uncommon as to invite that incessant persecution, which, in our over-crowded country, invariably marks the appearance of any rare bird amongst us.

Merulidæ.

Turdus Viscivorus. "The Missel Thrush." We come now to the Thrush Tribe, birds well known to all, and general favourites. The Missel Thrush, or Storm Cock, is one of the boldest of birds, fearing neither Hawk nor Crow, and driving all intruders resolutely from its nest. A very amusing anecdote was related to me the other

day concerning these birds, by Mr. Edward Kilvert, of Langley Burrell Vicarage, Chippenham. On the lawn of the vicarage a peculiar kind of fungus grew, which seemed to be considered a great delicacy by a pair of these birds, and also by a pair of Squirrels which frequented the garden, neither of them seeming to consider that the other party had any right to the dish. The Squirrels, as lords of the manor, would hop up to the fungus, and settling themselves down on their haunches, would commence their repast with the greatest *sang froid*, nibbling round the edge with precise regularity. The Missel Thrushes, however, did not seem to see this at all, and would attack the Squirrels with the greatest pertinacity, scolding and chattering meanwhile, and endeavouring, by seizing the Squirrels' tails, to pull them back by main force. The Squirrels, in their turn, would run after the Thrushes, barking at them like little dogs, and showing their resentment in every possible way. The Thrushes would, however, at last succeed, but Master Skug would not be beaten in this way. The Missel Thrushes had their nest in an acacia tree on the lawn hard by, and directly the Squirrels were driven from the fungi one of them would immediately mount the acacia tree, and annoy the Thrushes by peering into their nest and pretending that they were about to take possession, and roll themselves up in it. This being too much for the equanimity of the owners, they would in turn leave the fungus to defend their property, which took up all their efforts, and proved as much as they could do. The Squirrels then, having had enough of the contest, would once more descend from the tree and make for the fungus, when the same scene would take place over again; and thus the battle went on, day after day, success varying, now on one side, and now on the other, and affording my friend many a hearty laugh at the adroit manœuvres displayed by either side. For the last two years a pair of these birds have built in the same spot, close to my garden, in the fork of a small elm tree by the roadside, almost within reach of your hand from the ground, and, curious to relate, have hatched their last brood in safety. This is the more singular, as in their first nest they not only built it in the most conspicuous spot, which everybody passed and repassed as they went to and from Church, but also

interwove into the fabric of their nest a large piece of newspaper, as big as half-a-sheet of writing paper, which first attracted my attention. This I carefully removed, in order to render the nest less conspicuous. The pugnacity of the Missel Thrush is often shown by a pair of these birds taking possession of some favorite bush, and defending it against all comers. There is a favorite yew tree just opposite my study window, which became the scene of a most animated contest of this description. It was a hard winter's morning, and the tree being covered with berries, it attracted the birds from some distance all round. A pair of these birds, however, took legal possession, and for the whole morning resolutely defended the tree against a continual succession of opponents. I counted three or four other Missel Thrushes, as well as Blackbirds and Song Thrushes, which were continually endeavouring to effect a lodgment, and from 9 to 11, a.m., there was a continual whir of wings and an incessant chattering kept up owing to the warfare which was carried on. One thing I saw for certain, that the two defenders got no berries for their pains, as they literally had no time to eat, much less to digest what they had eaten; and when I left the study the battle was still going on. It is a curious fact that some years back these birds are said to have been comparatively rare, while at the present day they may be said to be ubiquitous.

Turdus Musicus. "Song Thrush." The king of our singing birds, and one of our earliest breeders. I have noticed this bird in full song on the ground, on the top of a house, on a hay-cock. It is a most determined destroyer of snails, which form a great part of its diet during the winter, and in which habit it differs I believe from all the other thrushes. You may often see some favorite stone used by these birds to crack their shells on, surrounded by the debris of their repast. This custom alone, not to mention the beauty of its song, should powerfully plead for its protection. In Hart's shop, at Bournemouth, I noticed a most peculiar variety of the Song Thrush. The bird was a dark brownish-black, and at first sight you would have taken it for a Blackbird. This bird had been kept in confinement for some years when it suddenly moulted this peculiar colour all at once, and was then preserved.

Turdus Merula. "The Blackbird," or "Colly Bird," as it is called in Somerset. Also a plaintive and beautiful songster, much more destructive to fruit, however, than the last, and not quite so much to be said in its favour in other ways. More abundant in winter than in summer, its numbers appearing greater either from fresh importations from more northern districts, or the local birds seeking more visibly the companionship and protection of man. In mowing the grass in my Churchyard one summer I very nearly mowed off the head of a hen bird sitting hard on its nest and eggs, which was built simply in a depression on the ground.

Turdus Pilaris. "The Fieldfare," or "Pigeon Felt." The school-boy's delight, and very good in a bird-pie. The other day I saw a curious cream-coloured specimen of this bird, the only bird I have come across which has varied from its normal and handsome plumage. No sound speaks to you so clearly and yet so cheerfully of winter, as the familiar and harsh double note of the Fieldfare, as it flies high above your head in the clear sky, or takes its flight, one by one, from the topmost branches of the trees from which you have scared it.

Turdus Iliacus. "The Redwing." First cousin and bosom companion of the last, enlivening our fields and hedge-rows at a season when we most need it, but not condescending to breed with us, perchance being jealous of its congener, the Thrush—so like it to the casual observer, and so superior to it in song, though in its northern home the Redwing can sing too.

Turdus Torquatus. "The Ring Ouzel." This bird cannot be said to be uncommon in Wiltshire during the spring and autumn migrations. It is a bird which always gives one pleasure to turn and notice, affording you a pleasant surprise at finding, that what you the first moment thought was but a Blackbird, was, after all our far rarer visitor. It can almost at once be distinguished, however, from its congener, *Turdus Merula*, by the more jerky manner of its flight, its greater proportionate length of tail, and the almost universal "tuk," or "tak," it gives vent to, as you surprise it from its lurking-place, and which you feel could never have issued from a Blackbird's larynx. I have noticed it several times in our immediate

district. One in the garden of The Cliff, at East Harnham, where it stayed for a week or more in the spring. Another, a cock bird, at Britford, in February, 1872. This bird haunted a particular thorn bush for two or three days, which it could scarcely be induced to leave, always returning to its favorite resting-place, as soon as I had withdrawn from the vicinity. I saw another male bird about November, at Odstock in the autumn of 1875, from which parish also, I obtained a nice specimen for my collection, a year or two previously, which was shot in Odstock Copse. I have also seen several of them on the downs at Ebbesborne, about eleven miles from Salisbury, flying from one stunted thorn bush to another, always keeping just out of harm's way. I have also noticed them on the cliffs between Weymouth and Lulworth, and round Broadmoor, in Berkshire. A fine cock bird was killed by flying against the telegraph wires, near Grately, in 1867, and is now in Mr. Norwood's collection, and Champion, our village bird-catcher, tells me he has not unfrequently trapped them on the downs. King has specimens brought to him most years from the neighbourhood of Warminster; while Mr. Baker, of Mere, tells me, they are seen in varying quantities on the downs in that district every spring and autumn. At Bathford, also, they are well known, where I heard rumours of a nest of the species having been found, but I cannot obtain sufficient evidence to verify the statement. But they are very fond of the rocks and broken ground that is to be found just above the village, and which might have formed a sufficient temptation for a pair of these birds for once to have made their home amongst us. The hen bird would doubtless often escape detection, the half-crescent on the breast being not nearly so well defined as in the cock.

Oriolus Galbula. "The Golden Oriole." This splendid bird it is impossible for any, even the most unobservant person, to pass without noticing, and were it not for the extremely bright plumage of the cock bird, which renders discovery almost inevitable, it would, I believe, be found to breed in our island more frequently than it does. A pair of these birds was seen in the spring of 1877, on some crab trees, at Dinton, on Mr. W. Wyndham's property. They were observed by a friend of the Rev. R. S. Shaw Woodgate, then

curate of Teffont Magna, who wrote to me thus on the matter: "I myself never saw the male bird, the female I *think* I did, but I was by myself at the time, and though I saw it on a tree where the others had also been seen, I never felt truly satisfied in my own mind, that the bird I saw was not a Green Woodpecker, being myself very short-sighted. They were seen, however, last summer in Mr. Wyndham's wood at Dinton, among four or five crab trees, which grew closely together. A gentleman who was staying with me saw them, one on one day, and one on the other, and he felt certain in his mind that they were the Golden Orioles. The female, he said, was greyish-green, while the male had a little black, on otherwise very yellow ground. I have been told that one was again seen this year near the same spot. I at the time said but little for fear of their being disturbed. I do not believe, however, they ever built there, as after a week they seemed to disappear, but I am sure they were not shot." On asking Mr. Wyndham myself about the matter he told me they had been known to breed on Teffont Common, and had undoubtedly been seen there more than once. He has a nice pair of these birds in his collection, but, I believe, not local ones. About the year 1870 a fine cock bird was shot in an orchard near Mere. This bird was stuffed by King, of Warminster, and is now in the possession of Mr. Osborne, of Tisbury. On May 9th, 1870, a beautiful cock bird was seen by Mr. E. Baker, of Mere, an ardent and accurate ornithologist. He observed it in a lane near Bruton, on the borders of this county, between Creech Hill and Cobblesbury Farm. As he was driving down the lane this beautiful bird kept on pitching on a spray of the hedge in front of him, and on his approach it would disappear on the further side of the hedge, and settle again in sight on the sunny side some little way off. In this way he had a perfect sight of the bird, which at last rose and passed directly over his head at a few yards' distance, and he saw it no more. Mr. Hart informs me the bird has not very lately been procured near Christchurch, but it has been known to breed for the last three years in the Isle of Thanet, and Mr. Woodgate tells me he remembers a pair breeding in Enage Park, in Kent, the nest being found with eggs; the male bird in this case being cruelly shot.

Cinclus Aquaticus. "Water Ouzle," or "Dipper." I am glad to be able to mention one well-authenticated instance of this peculiarly interesting little bird occurring in our county. This bird was killed in Mere stream, on November 9th, 1876, by Mr. W. Matthews, and is now in Mr. Baker's collection, having been stuffed by King in his best manner. This is the only instance I can hear of of this little bird occurring in our neighbourhood, which does not afford it the kind of shelter necessary for its happiness. I have seen them myself at Bishops Lydeard, in Somerset, where they were uncommon, and in Cornwall, where there are plenty of them. In the last-mentioned county I remember being equally annoyed and surprised by the sudden disappearance of one of these little birds, which, after some trouble, I congratulated myself on having at last secured for my collection, but on going to pick it up out of the brook, where I confidently expected to see my prize floating dead on the surface, I could not discover the least sign of it; for (true to its name) it had "dipped" instantaneously at the shot, and took care never to appear again while I was present. The power that this little bird has of keeping under water, while searching for its food, is very remarkable; but, as Mr. Mudie remarks, in his "*Feathered Tribes*," it may be very simply explained: "If it wishes to go down it strikes upwards with its wings and tail, if to come up it does just the reverse. Any one who has ever seen a Dipper under water, or has the slightest knowledge of the elements of mechanics, can understand the whole matter in an instant. The dipper, indeed, is often adduced as an instance of the beautiful simplicity of animal mechanics." It is a local bird, that will not make itself at home, except where it can find the rippling stream, the moss-grown rock, and spray of the waterfall, which are essential to its habits.

Silviadæ.

On coming to the family of the *Warblers*, which stands next in the large order of Insessores, the ornithologist will find quite enough to test his accuracy and practical knowledge. They are not only numerous in themselves, but, in many instances, so like each other, that personal handling alone can sometimes satisfy you of the nature

of the species which you may have before you; and so many new species, also, have been of late years discovered that it adds to the difficulty, and proves how hard identification has been. If any one is well up in the warblers, I am bold to say no other class of birds will greatly puzzle him, not even the Sandpipers or Gulls, both of which require a pretty good apprenticeship ere birds in different states of plumage can be verified without hesitation.

Accentor Alpinus. "Alpine Accentor." No notice. Mr. Baker has a nice specimen in his collection, but not local. One can only take refuge in the Rev. A. C. Smith's description that "it probably visits us occasionally."

Accentor Modularis. "Hedge-sparrow." Abundant; a confiding little bird, of which we can tell no harm, sometimes called "Shuffle-wing," from its curious mode of progression. In 1875 I noticed a very pretty cinnamon-coloured variety of this bird in the parish, and asked the gamekeeper's little son if he would catch it for me, and I own I felt myself reproved when he answered, "Please, Sir, I'd rather not, he does no harm," and the little bird so gallantly defended was left in peace. I heard of another specimen, also, of the same colour last year, that was nesting in the parish hard by; this was a lighter coloured specimen than the last-mentioned one.

Sylvia Rubecula. "Robin Redbreast." Familiar, fearless, jaunty, and bold. The only bird that sings all the year round! teaching us that there is no time when thankfulness is out of season. I remember a curiosity in the way of a nesting-place of the Robin, which I discovered when a school-boy at Winchester. I was walking through a little spinney ("Scards") surrounded by houses, which was the receptacle of all kinds of broken crockery and useless material, when I chanced to kick against an old tin coffee-pot, lying on the ground, out of which flew a bird; and when I examined the interior of the article there was a Robin's nest, with five eggs in it. I once had an animated discussion with a lady friend of mine concerning the number of eggs that a Robin's nest usually contained. The lady contended that there were generally six; I, on my part, stood up for five. As we could not agree—each, as is sometimes the case, preferring our own opinion—I suggested that the point in

question should be settled by reference to a Robin's nest that we knew was to be found not far off in the garden-hedge. No sooner said than done. But when the nest was discovered, there were neither five nor six eggs, but no less than eight—a number that I have never known before nor since, but which impressed upon us the lesson, in a practical way, that sometimes there might be more than even two sides to a question. A little while ago there was a curious specimen of this little bird round the South Western Railway Station, the bill of which, through some malformation, had become like that of an exaggerated cross-bill, but notwithstanding all the observer's efforts to trap it, a thing in the Robin's case generally not very hard to effect, he failed to do so, and after some time it disappeared.

Saxicola œnanthe. "The Wheat Ear." Common on our downs and other suitable places. A charmingly-coloured bird, and one that is sure to attract attention by its pure white tail coverts. Hundreds of these birds used to be caught at one time by the down shepherds in little turf traps, arranged so as to contain a hollow passage, through which the bird was sure to run. They used to be considered very good eating, which thus caused them to be persecuted in this merciless manner.

Saxicola Rubicola. "The Stone Chat." Just uncommon enough to make you notice it when you come across it. The cock bird, a very handsome little fellow, and with its lively jerky flight seeming to beckon you to follow it, and say, "Come on, here I am." I have occasionally noticed this species between Britford and Salisbury, and generally in the autumn.

Saxicola Rubetra. "The Whin Chat." First cousin to the last, and of much the same habits, but perhaps more generally dispersed. I have found its nest at Claybury, in the next parish, and have also noticed the bird in our own. Neither this nor the last species are very numerous with us, but are always welcome from their cheery attractive habits.

Phœnicura Ruticilla. "The Redstart." Commonly called "Firetail." The cock bird is, without exception, one of our very prettiest coloured warblers, and a general favourite. They are widely dispersed

around us, but scarcely plentiful. A pair have bred for some years in a walled garden in the middle of Salisbury.

Phœnicura Tithys. "Tithys Redstart," or the "Black Redstart." This rare species I cannot obtain any information about, nearer than the mouth of our Avon valley, at Christchurch. Here, however, Hart informs me that three specimens of this bird were killed near that place in 1875, besides one or two other specimens previously. It is generally seen in England, I believe, in the winter months, although there are instances of its having bred in some of our counties.

Salicaria Locustella. "The Grasshopper Warbler." This little bird takes its name from the very peculiar character of its note, which much resembles the chirping noise made by a mole-cricket, an insect not uncommon in our parish. This noise it continues for a long time without cessation. I believe it is commoner than is generally supposed; but on account of its exceedingly skulking habits, which renders it almost an impossibility even to catch a glimpse of the bird, it is very seldom seen or recognised. Mr. Baker tells me it is not at all uncommon in the neighbourhood of Mere, from whence he has several times obtained specimens. It is not necessarily addicted to water, although it is most generally to be found in the vicinity of ponds, and rushes. In the Mere district it is commonly called the *mowing machine* bird, another name characteristic of the monotonous and unceasing nature of its note. I have never found its nest myself, but remember well a cousin of mine returning in great triumph one afternoon, having, after a laborious search, discovered a nest of this species with its five pretty pink-tinted eggs.

Salicaria Phragmites. "The Sedge Warbler." Abundant in our water-meadows, where any amount of specimens, with nest and eggs, may be procured with but little trouble. I have often listened with pleasure to this little bird making night melodious with its untiring song, which, however, is more of a chatter after all, when compared with the night melody of the unrivalled Nightingale. But it likes to be busy in the night, and lifts up its voice with a good courage, as though it was not going to be put down, though it might itself be called insignificant, and its note harsh. It is one of our commonest

meadow-birds, and may be put up from almost every patch of rushes by the river-ride as you walk along. It can without difficulty be distinguished from the following species by the more mottled character of its plumage, as well as by the more decided mark that runs above the eye. I have found the nest of this species placed in very different situations, *e.g.*, in patches of rushes by the water's edge, or just inside the wattled hedges that commonly border some of our smaller streams, and very frequently in the thick stunted thorn bushes that line their banks. On one occasion I found a nest of this bird, fastened on to a wild rose-stock, covered with brambles, at least ten feet from the ground, a position not very usual with them, and which puzzled me not a little, ere I took it, as to what species of bird the nest could belong.

Salicaria Arundinacea. "The Reed Warbler." This little bird, in our own immediate district, is nearly, if not quite, as abundant as the last-named species; a fact which will appear, when I mention that in May, 1876, I found from between sixteen to twenty nests in one field of nineteen acres bordering the river, just behind the vicarage. The nests, built on their three or four reeds, vary but little; but their eggs vary considerably, and I have some in my collection so much larger and so entirely different in their marking from the others, that I could not help fancying at the time that they might be the eggs of *Acrocephalus Palustris,* although the position of the nest on the reeds would, I suppose, forbid the idea. From these nests I took no less than four Cuckoo's eggs, this being, in our neighbourhood, one of the most favourite nests for the Cuckoo's parasitical habits. Last year, also, two boy friends of mine, wishing for some Reed Warblers' eggs to add to their collection, asked me if I could find them some, and I accordingly took them down to a favourite reed bed, where I knew their want was pretty sure to be supplied, and I then said, "if we are lucky you may possibly find a Cuckoo's egg as well." On arriving at the spot, however, I found that somebody had evidently been there just before us; but on searching carefully we at last found one of their prettily-constructed nests, and on looking into it, one of the boys cried out in ecstacy, A Cuckoo, a Cuckoo;" and sure enough the nest contained three

Warbler's eggs and a Cuckoo's, and this was the only nest we found. For the last two years one of these little birds has built exactly in the same spot in my garden—in the middle of a hedge of Chinese privet, quite away from the water—and most nights as I retired to bed, about eleven o'clock, I have heard the little bird singing away lustily amid the still silence, towards the end of May. The nests of this bird I generally found built on the *land* side of the reed beds, where the flag of the reed grew greener and thicker, and not so much in the middle of the bed, where I at first looked for them. When I once discovered this I found as many nests as one wished. They sometimes build on the rushes growing actually in the water, but of the numerous nests I found, three were built on the land side of the bed to one within the bed itself, or in reeds growing in the water.

Philomela Luscinia. "The Nightingale." Abundant in our district, nay! in some particular spots you might almost say a *nuisance,* from their incessant song. In the neighbouring parish of Alderbury, and in Clarendon Woods, they may really be said to swarm, being as numerous there as the Reed Warblers are in the meadows just below them. As I have walked from Britford to Clarendon—some two or three miles—I am sure you might have counted a score of them, their notes surrounding you on all sides, as you walk along the road-side fringed by copses, and through the lovely rides of Clarendon Woods. It is astonishing how few people seem to know the nightingale by sight, when they see one. They imagine, it would appear, that their external beauty must coincide with the unrivalled nature of their note. Therefore, for the benefit of those who do not know their little friend, I would just say, that if they see a little brown bird, uncommonly like a Robin in its actions, but not quite so plump as our little red-breasted friend, and with a rather longer tail, of a ruddy brown colour, they will have seen that wonderful performer whose song has been the subject of author and poet from time immemorial, but which, if they are incapable of appreciating (and alas! I have known many who persistently and provokingly have declared that they should not have thought it superior to any other bird) you had better give them up

as being a hopeless case, without insisting on that mellowness, variety, and plaintiveness of note, which no other feathered songster can rival. The birds vary much in the power and quality of their song; but the notes of a nightingale, however inferior they may comparatively be, can scarcely be equalled by any other bird. I need scarcely remind my readers that during the May month, and in the early days of June, it sings all the day long, as well as through the night—especially during the courting time, and before the young are hatched—only at night its notes seem to be much clearer and richer, from the stillness in which all surrounding Nature is then wrapped.

Curruca Atricapilla. "The Black Cap." In our own district not nearly so numerous as the last species, but to be found scattered in likely places over the whole district. There are several places in the parish where I can always put my hand upon its nest, built in some favourite bramble-bush, a few feet from the ground. This bird has a most beautifully soft full eye, which peers at you confidingly from its nest, which it will not leave until you almost touch it. The Black Cap is but little inferior in song to the Nightingale itself, its note being very full and powerful for its size, and also of greatly variegated modulation. I found a nest last year with three of the usually brown marbled eggs, and one of a dull white, which, if not seen with the others, could never have been detected as being a Black Cap's. This, I believe, is not uncommon in the species.

Curruca Hortensis. "The Garden Warbler. A pretty little soft brown bird of a fine song, and scattered like the former species in places suited to its habits. Not very numerous anywhere. I found a nest of this bird in the same little plantation as the Black Cap's, last summer, the eggs being very similar to that bird's as well as the nest. This little bird puts you something in mind of a small Robin, who has left his red waistcoat off by mistake.

Curruca cinerea. "Common Whitethroat." Quite common in all our hedges and brakes, flitting from bush to bush in front of you, or rising suddenly in the air, flitting about in a vague uncertain manner, singing as it goes, and then diving into cover out of sight. Well known to all.

Curruca Sylvia. "Lesser Whitethroat." Not so numerous with us as the last species, but scattered generally far and wide. In 1876 I had nests of *this* species, the Reed Warbler, the Cole Titmouse, the Greenfinch, the Pied Wagtail, the Robin, (containing a Cuckoo's egg), the Wren, the Blackbird, and Thrush, all built in one little clump of bushes in my garden, within a few yards of each other. It was a long time before I discovered the nest of these little birds. It was very small, the smallest nest I think I have ever seen, and most ingeniously suspended in a cluster of hanging ivy, which I passed again and again before I discovered it. In fact, I am confident I should never have found it at all, but from the motions of the parent birds, which told unmistakably that their nest was close at hand.

Sylvia Dartfordiensis. "The Dartford Warbler." Not so uncommon amongst us as is generally supposed, and may usually be found in the thick gorse covers with which many of our downs abound. Mr. Baker tells me that it is by no means uncommon on the downs near Mere, where they are almost certain to be seen when the hounds are beating through the cover. They are, however, extremely hard to procure as specimens, and when killed are as hard to find amid the thick furze where they are almost sure to fall. Mr. Hart shot a pair in 1874, and in 1876 he tells me he had more than twenty specimens brought to him.

Sylvia Hippolais. "The Chiff Chaff. One of our earliest spring visitors, cheering us by its brisk little note in the March month, and telling us that spring has at last arrived. This is one of the numerous birds that derives its name from its note, uttered unceasingly from some tall branch over your head. If there is a pair of these little birds in the neighbourhood you cannot well be long left in doubt of their whereabouts, as no adverse circumstances of wind or weather seem able to silence the cock bird's merry little throat. The egg of this species is more definitely marked than some of the other small Warblers, being sprinkled with dark chocolate-coloured specks on a clear white ground.

Sylvia Trochilus. "The Willow Wren." Not uncommon, and very like the last species, but very different in its note, which Meyer

describes uncommonly well thus: "The song begins hurriedly, and ends very slowly; it seems to express *Dididide, deay, deay, duay, duay, duay, deay, deay, duay, deda, deda, daa, da!*" This bird is one out of eight or nine species that has killed itself against the plate-glass of my dining-room window, which seems a regular bird-trap. Within the last three years the following species have thus immolated themselves thereon: Willow Wren, hen Black Cap, a pair of Greenfinches, Big Tom Tit, various Thrushes, Blackbird, and, besides others, a fine adult male Sparrow Hawk, which I have now in my collection.

Sylvia Sibilatrix. "The Wood Wren." As far as I know, not common in our district, but it is a bird that may very easily be overlooked, and, if seen, not certainly recognised. I have never come across it myself, so as to verify it. But Mr. Baker tells me that it is to be found in the Mere district, and at Stourton, from whence he obtained some good specimens for his collection; while King, of Warminster, informs me they are to be found also in his neighbourhood in likely places, such as Southley Wood. This bird, like the last, builds its nest upon the ground, and its eggs are not easy to find, the eggs of the last species often being mistaken for the Wood Wrens. In two collections last summer I was shown eggs of the Willow Wren as being those of this species, but they are so different from each other that they ought not to be confounded together. The egg of the Wood Wren being thickly peppered all over with dark bluish-grey spots, while that of the Willow Wren is covered with light red spots on a whitish ground.

Sylvia Auricapilla. "Golden Crested Wren." Common. I see some every year in my own garden, from which I should be very sorry to miss them. Very tame and confiding.

Sylvia Ignicapilla. "Fire Crested Wren." On October 24th, 1877, a nice specimen of this little bird was brought to Hart by some boys, amongst a good many other small birds that they had killed. I saw it in his collection, and on enquiry he told me the history of it. He has had two others of the same species also brought to him before, in the same way, but they are by no means commonly met with. It seems most frequently to be found in the

southern and western counties, and to occur generally during the winter. It may, however, easily be overlooked, the chief difference from the former species consisting in the dark lines that run across and above the eye, which sufficiently mark it to the careful observer.

Sylvia Troglodytes. "The Wren." Jenny Wren, with Cock Robin, known even by every one who is not able to distinguish any other kind of bird. I once saw a Spanish hen gobble up two full-fledged Wrens one after another, which, unhappily for them, took their maiden flight into a pen of these fowls. I may have been unwittingly accessory to this sad tragedy, from having been accustomed to throw the mice, which I had caught in some numbers, into the fowls' pen, having observed how eagerly they were fought for, and relished by the fowls, but I was not prepared for this display of cannibalism. The egg of this species varies greatly in size. I have taken some that were nearly as big as Linnets', and almost white, others being much smaller, and thickly covered with red spots at the bigger end. I have often had our little friend pitch on my shoulder and my feet, as I have been silently waiting under some willow-tree in the evening for wild fowl.

Paridæ.

Parus Major. "Greater Titmouse." We now come to the family of Paridæ, who make up for their want of size, by their self-assertion. I am afraid they have a bad name for their destructive nature to the buds and young shoots of our garden shrubs, but who can tell the counterbalancing good they do, by the amount of noxious grubs and insects they consume. At the head of the family stands the Greater Tit, a most beautifully-marked bird with his yellow and black plush livery. Quite common, and well known everywhere.

Parus Cæruleus. "The Blue Titmouse. Equally well known as the last. A most determined fighter for the sanctity of his nest and home, as many a pecked finger, hastily withdrawn from his front door, will testify.

Parus Ater. "Cole Titmouse." Nearly as common with us as the last. A pair of these birds regularly build year by year in the

same hole in our garden wall, with so small an entrance that you can scarcely imagine that the parent birds could squeeze themselves into it.

Parus Palustris. "The Marsh Titmouse." This species also you not unfrequently meet with here, though not so common as the last. It may be at once distinguished from the last species by the absence of the white patch at the back of the head, and the more sombre tint of its general plumage. I think without doubt this bird often breeds in the old pollard willows, which abound in our water-meadows, though I have never yet actually found its nest.

Parus Caudatus. "The Long-tailed or Bottle Tit." This bird is also generally well known, flying about, as it does, in summer and autumn, in little parties of a dozen or more, so that you think you are never coming to an end of them as they flit past you. Every one knows the beautiful little nest built by this bird, out of which you may extract as many feathers as a conjuror does out of his hat, generally built, as it is, in a thick thorn bush, so that you often cannot reach it without the help of knife or bill-hook. I have found them, however, built in very unlikely places, one that I saw last year being balanced on the top of a horizontal bough of a large elm, some 15ft from the ground, and supported by a little twig or two sprouting out from it.

Parus cristatus, and *Parus Biarmicus.* "The Crested and Bearded Titmice." Of these two rare species I can gain no local information, saving that Hart informs me that one of the former and two of the latter were killed many years ago in the Christchurch district, and which he has in his collection, one of the two specimens of the Bearded Tit having been killed by the Hon. Grantley Berkley, and presented to Mr. Hart. I often hope to be able some day to stumble upon a pair of the latter species amongst the reed-beds and rushes of our river Avon, which seem to offer them here and there attractive retreats—but as yet I have not been successful.

Motacillidæ.

The family of the Wagtails are among the most elegant of our smaller birds, three out of the five species which visit us being more

or less abundant, the other two much rarer, but which doubtless frequently occur without being noticed.

Motacilla Lotor. "The Pied Wagtail." This is by far the commonest of all the species. One for several years has built in the same spot in my garden, every year, always rearing two broods in the season. The nest of this bird, also, is much used by the Cuckoo.

Motacilla alba. "The White Wagtail." A much rarer bird amongst us, and not easily to be distinguished in its winter plumage from the last. Hart tells me he saw a nice pair of these birds near Christchurch, in May, 1876, but not having his gun at the time he could not secure them, and he has also a beautiful specimen in his collection—a cock bird in summer plumage—which was killed in the neighbourhood of Christchurch not long since. This is the only notice I have been able to gather about them.

Motacilla Boarula. "The Grey Wagtail." Frequent with us in this parish in the winter, but I have never known it breed with us, and have never seen it with the characteristic black throat of its summer garb. Mr. Hart, however, showed me one he killed in 1875, with the black throat well developed, and in very good summer plumage; this was early in October, as well as another which was brought in on February 20th, 1877. It is one of the most elegant of the Wagtails, and with the bright yellow of the under feathering and the lower tail-coverts is a very pretty bird as well.

Motacilla Rayi. "Ray's Wagtail." Quite common with us during the summer, roosting in the withy-beds, and breeding amongst us freely. A fine plumaged cock bird of this species may be considered one of our very handsomest birds, no other bird eclipsing, if equalling, the bright golden colour of its breast and under plumage.

Motacilla Flava. "The Blue Headed Wagtail." We come now to a species which I cannot say I feel quite certain about. In some states of plumage it is very difficult to distinguish from the last-named species. I *believe* I have seen it in our water-meadows, and on one occasion felt certain about it, but I had no means of securing it, to decide the point. Mr. Norwood assures me he saw a pair of them in 1870, near the South Western Station, and King, of

Warminster, informed me he had stuffed one for Mr. Baker, of Mere, killed by himself at that place. I have since, however, seen this latter bird and cannot say that it can certainly be proved to be a specimen of *M. Flava*. The head is damaged, which would have been the best part of the bird to decide the question, and Mr. Baker himself was obliged to allow that he was not quite certain on the point, although he believed it to be one of the rarer sort.

Anthidæ.

We now come to a group of birds which has received much more attention of late years than formerly; and this has resulted in the discovery of several distinct species having been recognised as visitors to our shores, which before were not known to be so. There are, however, only two of this tribe which are at all common inland, all the others, more or less, being only found near the sea shore.

Anthus Pratensis. "The Meadow Pipit." Quite common, generally known by the name of Titlark. I have one of these in my collection, which I killed with an arrow at some 20 yards' distance—greatly to my own, as it must have been to the poor bird's surprise. The eggs of this bird vary greatly in colour, from lightish grey to deep chocolate and pinkish-brown.

Anthus Arboreus. "Tree Pipit." This species is also widely scattered, though not so common as the last, and is not so gregarious in its habits. It may be detected in the spring by its peculiar mode of singing. Starting up from the bush or tree on which it is sitting, it will rise for some height into the air, and then descend again, with quivering wings and tail, and its feet hanging straight down as though anxious to grasp hold of the first convenient perch that might come within its reach after its descent. The eggs of this species, also, vary in colour a good deal, but can readily be distinguished from the last-named species, being blotched and mottled something in the same way as the Black Cap's.

Anthus Ricardi. "Richard's Pipit." Of this species, as well as of the Rock Pipit—*Anthus Petrosus*, and of the Tawny Pipit—*Anthus Campestris*, I can give no nearer local information than from the Christchurch district. They are all more or less lovers of the

sea shore, and therefore are not likely to be met with so far inland as this. But, on referring to Mr. Hart about these species, he told me that all three occur in and about the neighbourhood, and that, of the three, he should certainly say the Rock Pipit was the least frequently to be met with. Of the other newly-detected species the Water Pipit—*A spinoletta*, he could give me no information.

CONIROSTRES.

Alaudidæ.

Alauda Arvensis. "The Sky Lark." It is impossible to pass by this, the most characteristic of all our song birds, without a word of passing eulogy. Who can help being cheered by the swelling notes of praise that this little chorister gives forth, as, on untiring wing, he mounts up and ever upwards, until you strain your eye in vain to catch a glimpse of your little friend, whose notes seem to increase in power the farther he leaves the earth behind him and the nearer he reaches heaven. It would seem at times to be filled with a burst of spontaneous and almost irrepressible praise, and to soar aloft as though drawn upwards by some unseen and magnetic attraction. It is happily one of our commonest birds, and needs no description. This bird affords, as may be easily understood, one of the finest flights in hawking that can be seen, the Hawk always flown at them being the Merlin. But so strong, and powerful, and rapid, is their ascent, that the hawker generally has to chose the time of their moult for his purpose, that they may not be able to rise quite so rapidly, as it is no uncommon thing for both Hawk and Lark to mount entirely out of sight, and if the Lark after this should take an oblique direction, the Hawk is not uncommonly lost. I myself witnessed a very exciting chase between a hen Merlin and a Lark, in Longford Park when I counted no less than fourteen stoops that the Hawk made after his quarry, the end of the chase being hidden from me by the trees. I once noticed a rather peculiar circumstance concerning this bird. I heard a Sky Lark in full song, but could not perceive from whence the sound emanated. It was apparently stationary, and evidently not in the air; and on looking round I at last saw my little friend sedately perched upon a gate-post, and singing away

to its heart's content, with crest erected and quivering wings. I think this rather unusual with them.

Alauda Arborea. "The Wood Lark." This is a scarce bird amongst us compared with the Sky Lark, but is to be found in suitable localities in many places round us. This species, also, is a very sweet songster, and will continue its song for a considerable length of time, wheeling round and round in wide circles in the air, both as it ascends and descends. Mr. Norwood tells me it is far more numerous in Devonshire than in this district, while Mr. Baker says it is to be found round Mere, though sparingly. Champion, the bird-catcher, whom I have before referred to, tells me that one evening in 1868, a lovely autumn evening, as he was returning home from a bird-catching expedition on the borders of the New Forest, he put up about sixty of these birds in a wheat stubble altogether, not far from Trafalgar—the seat of Earl Nelson. He immediately laid down his pack, and setting his nets with his call-birds, they soon pitched again, and he caught nine of them. He has never seen so many of this species together before or since. Last year he heard one singing on the borders of the Forest, but he has not observed many of them of late years.

Alauda Alpestris. "The Shore Lark." Six of these pretty birds were killed at Christchurch in 1875, two of which Mr. Hart still has in his own collection. This is the only notice I am aware of within reach. And, as its name implies, when they do occur amongst us, they are generally to be found on the coast. There are several other rare species of Lark, which are occasionally met with on the downs which border our sea coast, but I have no local notice concerning them.

EMBERIZIDÆ.

Plectrophanes Nivalis. "The Snow Bunting." We now come to the Bunting tribe, to be at once distinguished from the Larks by the peculiar sinuous notch in the lower mandible, over which the upper one nicely fits. The Snow Bunting only occurs very occasionally amongst us in this district, one or two being seen now and then in very hard winters. In 1868, Mr. Norwood informs me a pair of these birds were seen some seven or eight miles from here, between

Porton and Grately, associating with an enormous flock of Bramblings. He tried to get near them several times, but without success, and at last they left the district in safety. One of these birds was killed some years ago at Brixton Deverell, and passed through King's hands. And a few years back one was shot at Mere by a Mr. S. Doddington, as Mr. Baker informs me. Hart also says they occur occasionally at Christchurch, but they are by no means commonly met with there.

Plectrophanes Lapponica. "Lapland Bunting." This extremely rare species of Bunting I mention inasmuch as I saw a specimen in Hart's Museum, on November 13th, 1878, which he informed me had been killed in the neighbourhood many years back, and had belonged to the Rector of Studland, who had had a good collection of local birds. It, with some others, belonged now to a Mr. Pike, for whom he was going to re-stuff it, as well as an Ivory Gull, which had also been killed somewhere in the bay. It is an exceedingly rare visitant to us, and therefore I think it worth while to record this specimen as having occurred in the Christchurch district.

Emberiza Miliaria. "The Lark or Corn Bunting." Quite common amongst us, and may be seen and heard with its peculiar note, half twitter and half chatter, on almost every hedge-row dividing our cornfields, from which it will flutter with legs at first tucked up and then depending, to settle on some bent, or corn-stalk, in the middle of the field. Some little time since I surprised a Kestrel on an apple tree in the garden, and observing that it had dropped some prey, I went to look, and found it was a fine Corn Bunting, with which it was going to diversify its usual diet of frog or mouse. To a casual observer this bird may seem very like a Sky Lark at a short distance, but he will be always able to distinguish it at once by its habit of settling on the hedge, or some stalks of corn or grass, not far off from him.

Emberiza Citrinella. "The Yellow Hammer." One of the most beautiful of our common birds. In fact some cocks—and they differ greatly in brightness—will match, or eclipse, any Canary in its depth of golden beauty. In Cornwall it goes by the name of "Gladdie," though what the derivation may be of the term, I know

not. Their beautiful little nests, lined with horsehair, I suppose no man, who has ever been a boy, is ignorant of, nestling down in some snug hole in the bank, from which the bird flits up from under your very feet. The bird has a most peculiar and drawling kind of song, if you can call it one, the last syllable of which they prolong in a very quaint manner, and which always used to be likened in my younger days to the following words: "A very little bit of bread and no che-e-e-e-ese!" the first words being uttered very rapidly, and the latter prolonged *ad libitum*. The next time my reader hears our little friend, let him see if he cannot recognize this humble petition.

Emberiza Cirlus. "The Cirl Bunting." This bird is very likely to be mistaken by the unobservant ornithologist for a dull specimen of the last species, which it greatly resembles. They are not very numerous, but are widely scattered round the neighbourhood, and it would not be hard to procure specimens of them. About 1868 Mr. Norwood shot a pair of these birds not far from Salisbury. Champion also tells me that he has trapped them occasionally on the downs round the "Great Yews," a copse some three or four miles off, and near Red-lynch. They are always to be found round Mere, where they breed annually, and from which place Mr. Baker tells me he could procure specimens almost at any time, if they were wanted. But they are, no doubt, rather local in their habits. The cock bird can be at once distinguished from the Yellow Bunting by its black throat, and duller plumage generally. Of the Ortolan Bunting—*Emberiza Hortulana*, I can gather no information.

Emberiza Schæniclus. "The Reed Bunting." A very prettily-marked little bird is this, which is also quite common in our water-meadows. The cock bird is not altogether unlike a small neat House Sparrow, with its black head and chin and mottled brown back, which has given rise to its sometimes being called the "Reed Sparrow," although in reality it is a very different kind of bird. I have taken its nest frequently in our withy-beds, which is generally beautifully concealed in an osier stump, and which very often would be undiscoverable, were it not for the anxiety of the parent bird, who flies off at your approach, and tries every method of decoying

you away from the vicinity of its nest, with the same arts as the Partridge or the Lapwing. It will throw itself at your feet, tumbling about as if tipsy, and then shuffle along with seemingly broken pinions, using every effort it can think of to make you follow it, and then, when you are at a safe distance from its nest and eggs, it will fly off in the most provoking manner, rejoicing at having done you. Meyer notices a curious characteristic of this bird, which I can certainly bear witness to, that it invariably lines its nest with black horsehair, and *black* only, and "it would be a curious matter to observe," he says, "the lining of nests of this species in counties where black horses are not generally met with, as, for instance, in some parts of Suffolk." Whether this peculiarity holds good universally in all parts, I cannot however say.

The Bishops of Old Sarum.

By Canon W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A.,
Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

(Continued from Vol. xvii., *p.* 191.*)*

Hubert Walter, 1189—1193.

FOR *five* years after the decease of Jocelin de Bohun, there was no Bishop appointed for the see of Sarum. When we add to these the seven closing years of Bishop Jocelin's life, in which, on account of his infirmities, he had to delegate his duties to a suffragan or assistant Bishop, it gives us a long period during which the see was bereft of the superintendence of its proper diocesan. Its administrators were Herbert Archdeacon of Canterbury, Jordan then Dean of Sarum, and Richard Fitz-Ebrard,

who duly accounted for the income of the see, the offerings at the high altar at Whitsuntide, and the proceeds from the Rectory of Saldeburne (Shalbourn), then in the hands of the king, on account of a controversy touching the advowson of the same.[1]

Nor were matters much mended, when a successor was at last appointed in the person of HUBERT WALTER, for it is questionable whether, during the four years that he nominally held the see, he resided at all in the diocese. In any case his history belongs rather to that of the Archbishops of Canterbury—for he was advanced to the primacy in 1194—and it has been well told by Dean Hook.[2]

HUBERT WALTER, who is said to have been a native of West Dereham, in Norfolk, was nephew, pupil, and confidential friend of Ranulf Glanville, Justiciar of England and Prime Minister of Henry II. Amongst others well able to befriend him, he seems to have been brought under the notice of Baldwin, once Chancellor of Sarum, who, after having held the see of Worcester, became in 1185 Archbishop of Canterbury. Through his interest with the king, Hubert Walter was, about the year 1186, promoted to the Deanry of York, in succession to Robert Boteville.[3] Three years afterwards, the king, Richard I., within a few weeks of his accession to the throne, at a council held at the Abbey of Pipewell in Northamptonshire, nominated him to the see of Sarum. He was consecrated shortly afterwards (October 22nd, 1189) by Archbishop Baldwin in the Chapel of St. Catharine, Westminster.

In the year 1190, within a few months only of his appointment as Bishop of Sarum, Hubert Walter went, together with Archbishop Baldwin and Ranulf de Glanville, to the Holy Land, to join the king in his crusade for the recovery of "the holy sepulchre" from the hands of the infidels. He was present at the siege of Acre, where, within a short time, died both Ranulph de Glanville and Archbishop Baldwin. By the latter he was appointed executor to his will. He continued in the camp till the close of the siege,

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[1] Magn. Rot. 31 Hen. II.

[2] Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. II.

[3] Le Neve Fasti, III., 120, calls him "Botivelein."

proving on more than one occasion that he could wield the sword as well as the crosier. Together with other bishops he re-consecrated the principal churches of the city of Acre, which the pagans had polluted, and, building altars, once more celebrated upon them the holy mysteries. Moreover he obtained permission for priests to officiate, one at the Holy Sepulchre, and one at Nazareth.

Immediately after the return of Hubert Walter to England, in 1193, the monks of the metropolitical Church of Canterbury met together and elected him to the primacy in succession to Archbishop Baldwin. The election was not however unchallenged; and, strangely enough, the principal appellant was Herbert Archdeacon of Canterbury, who so soon afterwards succeeded him in the see of Sarum. The grounds of the appeal, which was laid before the Supreme Pontiff, were, first of all, that the king was in captivity, and then, secondly, that the Bishops of England whose duty it was to have been present at such an election were not there.[1] Roger of Wendover however is careful to tell us that he was elected canonically. He was duly enthroned at Canterbury on the day after the Feast of St. Leonard, 1193. Immediately afterwards, by command of King Richard who was still in captivity, the general administration of affairs in England was entrusted to his care.

Much concerning him will be found in the introduction to the fourth volume of Roger de Hoveden, published in the Rolls Series, and edited by Professor Stubbs. He belonged rather to the secular and statesman school, than to that which may be termed the devotional and spiritual. Of the Bishops of Old Sarum, Roger and Hubert Walter belong to the former, Osmund and Richard Poore to the latter. He could in any case have given very little personal care to his diocese; still his memory was for some centuries preserved here, and, according to Leland, an annual obit was observed for him in the Cathedral.[2]

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[1] Tum quia Rex in captione erat, tum quia Episcopi Angliæ, quorum est interesse electioni Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi, non interfuerunt electioni illi. Hoveden, III., 213.

[2] See Wilts Mag., i., 168.

We may conclude this brief sketch of the short tenure of our episcopate at Sarum by Hubert Walter, in the following words of Professor Stubbs :—"The special importance of his ministerial career arises from the fact, first of all, that having occupied a position involving close and constant intercourse with Henry II. during the latter years of his life, he had a thorough acquaintance with the principles that guided the reforms of Henry's reign, and as probably developing those principles in the changes and improvements he adopted when practically supreme; and, secondly, that the period during which he exercised the authority of the crown as Justiciar, or in his offices of Chancellor, Archbishop and Legate, brought his powerful influence to bear on the sovereign and the people, was the last period of orderly government that preceded the granting of Magna Charta. On Archbishop Hubert's death, the regular administration of the country was thrown out of gear by the tyrannical conduct of John. Hubert's advice had been all powerful with Richard; with John it had a certain weight, sufficient to modify if not to over-rule his self-willed behaviour. Hubert exercised a control, the removal of which was felt by the King as a great relief; whilst the nation, with whom, as his master's servant, he had never been popular, found almost immediately that in him they had lost their best friend, the only bulwark strong enough to resist or break the attack of royal despotism."[1]

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[1] Stubbs' R. de Hoveden, IV., lxxvii.

Herbert Poore, 1194—1217.

The successor of Hubert Walter in the see of Sarum was Herbert Poore. We have already spoken of him as the Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was one of the administrators of the diocese on the decease of Jocelin de Bohun, and who thought it his duty to protest against Hubert Walter's election to the primacy. Professor Stubbs thinks that some documents printed in Madox' Formulare Anglicanum (pp. 47, 52) pretty well prove that he was the son of Richard of Ivelchester (or Ilchester), first of all Archdeacon of Poictiers, then Clerk of the Exchequer to Henry II., in that office proving himself an energetic man of business, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester. However this may be, it may be observed, as a coincidence, that Adam of Ivelchester was the immediate successor of Richard Poore as Dean of Sarum. Herbert Poore would seem in any case to have been one of the old officials of King Henry II., and we meet with his name more than once as a witness to royal charters, implying at all events that he held a high and responsible position.

Herbert Poore succeeded Geoffrey Ridel as Archdeacon of Canterbury, when the latter, in 1174, was promoted to the see of Ely.[1] He was one of the three Archdeacons whom Archbishop Richard constituted, the other two being Savaric and Nicholas. But this arrangement did not continue long, for in 1180 the Archbishop abrogated his appointment and made a grant of the whole jurisdiction to Herbert.[2]

It has been usual—an example may be found even in the pages of Matthew Paris—to translate the name "Poore," or "Poer," by the Latin "Pauper," as if that were its equivalent. Professor Stubbs[3] thinks that the name may imply some connection with the Chancellor Roger "le Poor," of Salisbury, and so with Nigel of Ely, and Richard Fitz-Nigel, and that so the brothers Herbert and Richard Poore, who successively ruled over the diocese of Sarum, belonged

[1] Le Neve, I., 38.

[2] The grant is printed in Somners' Antiq. Cantuar, App. No. lix. See Batteley's remarks on the date of this charter, Part ii., p. 251.

[3] R. de Hoveden, IV., xci., *note*.

to a generation of men intimately acquainted with public affairs, who acquired habits of business in the exchequer. But whilst in the case of Roger "Pauper," the presumed son of Bishop Roger, the name was evidently given in consequence of the impoverished condition to which he was reduced by the confiscation of his father's and his own estates, the reason is different in the case before us. The munificence of both brothers, especially of the younger, added to the express statement by William de Wanda concerning the elder, that he was "*dives* et assiduus," seem to shew its inaccuracy. Indeed there are incidental notices met with, which seem to imply that the brothers were not only wealthy, but of gentle if not of noble birth.

The conjecture therefore is hazarded that the name of Poore, like that of "Le Poer" and "Poure" or "Power" so common in Ireland, originated in the Norman-French equivalent for the Latin word *Puer*, which was used in much the same sense as the Anglo-Saxon *Cild*. Both these terms were employed in the middle ages to denote the sons of nobles not yet in possession of their paternal estates. Thus "Puer Anglicus" was an old designation of the Prince of Wales, as the heir to the crown. Brixi, in like manner, in Domesday is called *cild*;[1] as is also Wulfnoth, the father of the great Earl Godwin, under the year 1009 in the Saxon Chronicle, being in other documents styled the "Thane," or "Minister," of Sussex.[2] As confirmatory of the truth or feasibility of this conjecture, it may be mentioned that the Shropshire "Childs," still existent, credibly claim descent from a family which was at one time called "Le Poer," and at another time "Child."[3] The fact moreover is of some little interest, and may go for what it is worth, that at no very great distance from Tarrant,

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[1] Domesday, I., 6, 6 *b*, 35, II., 48. See also Freeman's Norman Conquest, v. 29.

[2] "On ðys ylcan timan Brihtric Eadrices broþer ealdormannes forwecgde Wulfnoð cild ðone Suðsexiscan Godwines fæder Eorles to þam cinge." [At this time Brihtric the alderman, Eadrics' brother, accused Wulfnoth *child*, the South Saxon, Earl Godwin's father, to the King.] See also Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, p. 294, and Hampson's Origines Patriciæ, p. 327.

[3] See Eyton's Shropshire, index, *sub voce* "CHILD." Not only have we the name POORE apparently from *Puer*, but its diminutive *Puerellus* would seem to have been invented by the Normans, and transmitted as the family name of PEVEREL through successive generations.

in Dorset, the birth-place of Richard Poore, there are places of the name of *Poor*-stock and *Poor*-ton—some of the oldest possessions of the see or cathedral of Sarum—as well as *Chil*-frome and *Child*-Okeford.

Herbert Poore would seem to have been a Canon of Sarum, for we are told by Ralph de Diceto,[1] that, in the year 1194, the Canons of Sarum having at the time no Dean, unanimously elected as their Bishop, "fratrem suum et concanonicum," Herbert Archdeacon of Canterbury. At that time he was only in Deacon's orders. On the Day of Pentecost (April 29th), 1194, he was ordained a Priest, and seven days afterwards, on Trinity Sunday, was consecrated a Bishop by Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, his predecessor in the see of Sarum, in the Chapel of St. Catharine, Westminster. He was enthroned at Sarum on June 13th in the same year.

The spiritual heritage to which Herbert Poore succeeded was indeed one of trouble and anxieity. For perhaps twelve years previously there had been practically no Bishop at Sarum. Moreover England and the Church were alike impoverished by the enormous sums exacted for the king's ransom: as Wendover tells us, "all Bishops, Priests, Earls, Barons, and Abbots and Priors had to contribute *one fourth* of their incomes towards this purpose; and moreover were forced to give their gold and silver vessels, even their sacred chalices, for this work of piety. No Church, no order, no rank, or sex, but was compelled to aid in releasing the King." And when King Richard returned to his kingdom, a week or two only before the consecration of Herbert Poore, his first work was to hurry off to Nottingham, for the purpose of punishing those who had joined his brother, the Earl John, in rebellion against him. Then came the formal excommunication of the Earl John and of all who had been his abettors or advisers.[2] More exactions followed on the demand of the King; not only did he require *two shillings* to be paid from every carucate of land, but every man was to render him the third part of a knight's service, according as each fee would

[1] Imag. Historiarum *sub anno* 1194, in Twisden's "Decem Scriptores."

[2] Rog. de Hoveden, II., 313, 317.

bear. Even the monks of the Cistercian order, who by special privilege could claim exemption, were commanded to give him, in aid of his expedition to Normandy, all their wool for the current year. Never was there a gloomier prospect than that which opened on the episcopate of Herbert Poore.

In the year 1198, four years after his consecration, Eustace Dean of Sarum, was advanced to the bishopric of Ely. Herbert Poore was then most fortunate in the election of his own brother (*frater germanus*), Richard Poore, to the vacant deanry. Most probably he was for some little time previously a Canon of the Cathedral. Without all doubt, from the time of his election as Dean, the two brothers worked earnestly together for the removal of the cathedral from Old Sarum to a more convenient site. An inscription, copied by Leland from the Lady Chapel, states distinctly that it was in the time of Richard I. that a commencement was made. How far that King, who is said to have favoured the undertaking,[1] gave more than fair words, we are not able to say. He certainly appears rather as the exactor of benefits for himself from the Church, than as in any sense its benefactor. On one notable occasion indeed, in this same year of which we are speaking, we find our Bishop boldly resisting the royal oppression. In the great council of the nation assembled at Oxford, Archbishop Hubert announced a demand of the King that the barons should furnish him with a force of three hundred knights to be paid each of them three shillings a day. Two of the Bishops, Hugh—afterwards canonized as St. Hugh—of Lincoln, who represented at the time the religious party in England and the old school of liberty for which St. Anselm and Thomas Becket had contended, and Herbert of Salisbury, who, it may be, represented the old traditions of the Exchequer, resisted the grant on the ground that, whilst as loyal subjects they were bound to do faithful service to their king within his realm, they were not bound to contribute either men or money for

[1] William de Wanda says distinctly—"illustri Rege Anglorum suum ad id assensum et favorem liberaliter impendente." Reg. Osmund (Wilkins' Concil. i., 551).

undertakings beyond the sea. Whatever may have been the real grounds of opposition, the occurrence itself is a land-mark in English constitutional history. It may be placed on a par with Thomas a Becket's opposition to Henry II. at Woodstock, but it is the first clear case of the refusal of a money grant demanded directly by the crown, and so a most valuable precedent for future times.[1]

It was a terrible penalty however that Bishop Herbert paid for his independent stand against the King. The royal command went forth that the possessions of the two Bishops should be confiscated. The saintly character of Hugh of Lincoln seems to have been a protection to him—no man dared meddle with Hugh, his anathema was dreaded as death. The sentence however was executed on Herbert Poore; he had, after many vexatious oppressions, to buy back his own possessions with a large sum of money.[2]

King Richard died in 1199. The accession of John to the throne gave at the first a faint hope of the cessation of some of those troubles which all along had oppressed the Bishop and Church of Sarum. Together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, and many Earls and Barons, Herbert Poore went to meet King John, and assisted at his coronation in the church of St. Peter, Westminster.

He also acted from time to time as one of the King's Justices at Westminster, and early in the year 1200 we find him engaged in the good work of reconciling Geoffrey Archbishop of York, with the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral. Serious differences had long prevailed at York; they were hardly indeed to be wondered at when we remember how Geoffrey, who was an illegitimate son of Henry II. and so half-brother to Richard I., had been forced upon them as Archbishop even before he was in holy orders, how he held the temporalities of the see for some years without consecration at all, and with what recklessness he bestowed prebends

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[1] See Freeman's Norman Conquest, v., 695, and Magna Vit., S. Hug. (Rolls Series), p. 248.

[2] Magn. Vit., S. Hug., p. 251. Of Bishop Herbert Poore it is said "Post vexationes et plurimas contumelias vix tandem *maxima pecuniæ summa* pacem et possessiones suas redemit."

on unfit or even unworthy persons.[1] A formal peace was at last concluded at Westminster, Bishop Herbert of Sarum and Abbot Alan of Tewksbury, the judges delegate appointed by the Pope, being accepted as arbitrators. After a long discussion Geoffrey received the kiss of peace from Simon the Dean, and Reginal Arundel the Precentor, and, personal enmity being at an end, all further questions were to be settled in the Chapter House at York.[2]

The Bishop of Sarum was present in this same year at Lincoln, when William, King of Scots, did homage to King John—and also at the burial of his really great and saintly friend, Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, in that Cathedral.

But thick clouds soon again overshadowed the episcopate of Herbert Poore. Besides the well-known troubles between the Barons and King John, there were also grave disputes between England and the Holy See. In addition to these there were some very severe visitations, insomuch that in consequence of hard frosts which prevailed for two whole months—from January 14th till March 22nd, 1205—the ground could not be tilled, and in the following summer a load of corn sold for *fourteen* shillings.[3] Three years afterwards—in 1208—the disputes between King John and Pope Innocent reached their climax, and the whole kingdom was laid under an interdict, many of the Bishops, especially those who were charged to proclaim it, fleeing from their flocks and seeking a place of safety abroad. Among the fugitives were the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Bath, and Hereford. The name of Herbert Bishop of Sarum, is not among them. I like to think and believe that he and his brother Richard the Dean, remained bravely at their posts, and did what they could to mitigate the horrors of those sad times. For sad indeed they were—whilst that interdict remained in force—for two whole years—all Church bells were silent, and all Church services ceased, and the whole nation seemed given over, body and soul, to the destroyer. The only exceptions

[1] See much on this point in the preface to the fourth volume of Professor Stubbs' edition of Rog. de Hoveden (Rolls Series).

[2] Stubbs' Hoveden, IV., lxxiv., and 126.

[3] Wendover, ii., 214 (Bohn's edition).

permitted at all were in the case of the baptism of children, and the administration of the eucharist to the dying. But in no case were funeral rites to be performed; the bodies of the dead were carried out of cities and towns and buried in roads or in ditches—without a priest's blessing, without a mourner's prayer.

Nor was this the only trial endured; for the King, infuriated by the interdict, began to wreak his vengeance on the unoffending priests—giving the bishoprics, abbacies, and priories into the charge of laymen, and ordering all ecclesiastical revenues to be confiscated. The corn of the clergy was everywhere seized; religious men, and others ordained of any kind, were, on their travels, ill-treated and robbed. The relatives especially of the Bishops who had proclaimed the interdict, were, by the King's orders, wherever they could be discovered, to be arrested, robbed of all their property, and thrown into prison.

In the year 1209 King John was excommunicated by name, and three years afterwards the Pope proceeded to pass on him the sentence of deposition from his kingdom. In 1213, terrified into submission, the craven-hearted king forced himself at last into the humiliation of resigning his crown to Pope Innocent. Soon afterwards followed Runnymede and "Magna Charta," wrung from him by his Barons. On the cruel, nay savage, treatment, of the clergy and all christian people, the chroniclers are painfully explicit.[1] The King's soldiers ransacked towns, houses, churches, and even cemeteries, robbing every one, and sparing neither women nor children. Even the Priests, standing at the very altars, clad in their sacred robes, were seized, ill-treated, robbed, and tortured. Markets and traffic ceased—goods were exposed for sale only in churchyards—agriculture was at a stand-still—no one dared to go beyond the limits of the churches whither they fled for sanctuary.

No wonder, that, amid such and other troubles, nothing could be done in the way of removing the cathedral from Old Sarum. Many consultations indeed took place between Bishop Herbert and his

[1] Wendover, ii., 352.

brother the Dean, and the Canons who formed his Chapter—nay even a plot of ground was at one time actually secured as a site for the new cathedral, and also sites on which each canon might build a house of residence—but, with the demands made on the resources of the Church, the expense was far too great to be incurred. Suffering great losses and privations, stripped of all that he had devoted to pious uses by the rapacity of the King and his soldiery, Bishop Herbert was forced to abandon the effort on which he had set his heart, and to leave it to be carried out in more peaceful times and under happier circumstances, by his brother and successor, Richard Poore.

He survived King John only a few months. He would appear to have removed—possibly to have been driven—from Old Sarum, and to have spent his closing days at Wilton. There also, it is supposed, he found his last resting-place. I know not that we have any memorial to him in our present Cathedral. The course of this narrative will shew that shortly after its dedication, in 1226, the bodies of S. Osmund, Roger, and Joceline, were translated from the precincts of the castle to the new fabric, and to each of these Bishops there is a memorial—still to be identified with probability—within the Cathedral. Nothing would have been more natural than that his brother should have provided a memorial also to Bishop Herbert. I have sometimes thought it possible that one of those *thirteenth* century effigies, which we have some difficulty in identifying, may after all be that of Herbert Poore. His obit was celebrated annually, on January 7th, in the Cathedral.

Richard Poore.

Dean, 1198—1215.
Bishop, 1217—1229.

The successor of Herbert Poore in the see of Sarum was his brother (*frater germanus*) Richard Poore. He was a native of Tarrant (Crawford), in Dorset. He was, we may fairly presume, a Canon of the Cathedral, since the office of Dean, to which he was elected in 1198, could only be held by one who had been previously a member of the cathedral body. In 1215 he was consecrated as Bishop of Chichester by Archbishop Stephen Langton. His episcopate there was but a brief one, for in less than two years he was recalled to his much-loved Sarum. He left his mark however at Chichester, for whilst there he obtained for that see the patronage of the Church of Hove, and founded in his Cathedral the prebend of Hove, afterwards divided into two, viz., Hove Villa, and Hove Ecclesia. He is also said to have purchased Amport in Hants, and to have given it to the same Cathedral.[1]

William de Wanda, in the account of the building of the new Cathedral which he has left us in what is commonly now termed the "Register of S. Osmund," though more correctly designated the "Old Register," (*vetus registrum*), gives us a few touches, from which we glean sufficiently well the different characters of the two brothers.[2] Thus of the former he speaks as a "far-seeing man and strenuous in temporal matters" *(vir providus et in temporalibus strenuus)*; whilst of the other, as "most quiet and peace-loving" (*quietissimus et pacificus*). And without all doubt, during the time that Richard

[1] See Stephens' "See of Chichester," p. 73.

[2] Bishop Herbert Poore was evidently no great favourite with William de Wanda, afterwards Dean. Thus he says of him [Reg. Osmund], "Licet vir esset dives et assiduus, manum, quam ad fortia mittere proposuerat, sub axilla reposuit, nec eam ad os ulterius applicare studuit, ut opere compleret quod ore promisit:" and again, in words which seem to mean more than he quite likes to express plainly, "Utrum idem Episcopus *vir sanguineus* fuerit, et ob hoc domum Domini ædificare non licuerit, an in hoc suo successori, viro quidem quietissimo et pacifico, divinitus delatum fuerit, nescio. Deus scit."—Wilkins' Concil, i., 552.

Poore was Dean he did much for the cathedral body of which he was the head. Thus as early as 1213 we have records of several statutes passed for its benefit, as, for example, respecting the residence of the Canons, their dress and demeanour in choir, and especially one entitled a "Constitution respecting the Vicars."[1] At what precise period separate prebends were annexed to the several canonries we are not informed, but it was probably during his time. For in 1214 a statute was passed entitled "De visitatione præbendarum," to which there were no less than thirty-eight assenting Canons, and by which he secured to himself and his successors in the office of Dean the right from time to time of visiting the various prebendal estates, and remedying any abuses that might be found in them.

On every side there was rejoicing when Richard Poore was translated by the Pope to the see of Sarum. The Church itself was especially glad because he had long been known there as an earnest and painstaking Dean, and withal a man of learning and holy conversation.[2] The people at large moreover rejoiced because they remembered his loyalty to the crown and nation in days of difficulty, and how he was the true and open opposer of Louis, son of the French King, to whom the disaffected of the Barons would fain have handed over the kingdom and government. The Legate of the Holy See, moreover, anxiously promoted his translation because in him he had already found a most trusty adviser in "treating of the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom." Hence it was a cordial

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[1] In the year 1213 statutes were passed: "De majori sigillo custodiendo,"—"De residencia Canonicorum,"—"De fructibus percipiendis,"—"De habitu Canonicorum,"—"De silentio et gestu in choro,"—and, "De conditione Vicariorum." In the following year (1214) one was passed: "De visitatione præbendarum per Decanum."

[2] William de Wanda waxes quite eloquent, when he speaks of the translation of his friend and patron, Richard Poore, to the bishopric of Sarum: "In ipsius translatione specialiter *æstuabat* ecclesia Sarum. Ad idem etiam totum regnum acclamabat, eo quod ipsum invenerat contra Ludovicum, filium Regis Franciæ et suos Francigenas, qui tunc temporis regnum ipsum occupare venerant, pugilem fidelem et eximium. Dictus etiam Legatus translationem studiose procurabat, quia ipsum habuerat in tractandis regni negotiis socium fidelissimum. A Domino factum est illud, ut et omnes optarent quod Deus providerat, et quod Dominus tandem effecerat quod universalitas postulabat."—Reg. Osmund.

welcome that he received, when he came back from Chichester to be wedded to his new bride (*nova nuptæ suæ*)—already no stranger to him—the Church of Sarum.

Richard Poore's thoughts at once reverted to his original design of removing his cathedral from Old Sarum to a more convenient site. The choice of such a spot for the seat of the bishopric in the days of the Conqueror shows that it must have been already a place of importance, according to the standard of the time. Yet its importance must always have been mainly that of a military post; one can hardly conceive Old Sarum being at any time a place of trade, or the home of any considerable population. Moreover the relations that existed between the authorities of the Church and those of the State whilst the Cathedral was within the precincts of the King's castle, for such was the actual state of the case, were anything but amicable. As Dean Pierce tersely expresses it, "The Bishop held the castle but as a keeper, or as a *Maistre d' Hostel*, or as a tenant to the king—only in trust and during pleasure—often put in and out, as the King saw good."[1] Indeed Pope Honorius III., in his "bull" authorising the removal of the cathedral, names as a distinct reason for the step, that free access to the Church was not to be obtained without leave of the "Castellan," or governor of the castle.[2]

There is among the muniments at Salisbury a document, a copy of which, as we learn from Dean Pierce,[3] was contained in the Register of Dean Davyson, which purports to give us an account of the circumstances which at last forced the Bishop to seek a new site for his Cathedral. It is entitled "*De prima fundacione Sarisberiensis Ecclesiæ.*" A translation of this document is as follows:—

"It is narrated in the annals of the Bishops of Sarum, among

[1] Vindication of the King's Sovereign Rights, p. 42.

[2] "Quod non patet aditus ad ecclesiam sine licentia Castellani. Sicque contingit quod in capite jejunii, cæna Domini, synodis et ordinibus celebrandis ac aliis diebus solennibus, fidelibus volentibus ipsam ecclesiam visitare, denegatur ingressus, proponentibus custodibus castri per hoc munitioni periculum imminere." Reg. Osmund. See translation of the bull of Pope Honorius in Ledwych's "Antiquitates Sarisburienses," p. 70.

[3] Vindication of the King's Sovereign Rights, p. 40.

the acts and doings of Richard [Poore], of blessed memory, Bishop of Sarum, that in olden days the Canons of the church of Sarum were wont to reside within the bounds [*infra septa*] of the castle of Old Sarum, and so resided up to the time of the above-named Bishop. But in his time there sprung up a persecution [*persecutio*] throughout the kingdom of England from the Germans [*Allemanni*] and others. In consequence of this, the King of England gave command to all his sheriffs and castellans that they should carefully guard the royal places [*loca regia*], and preserve them for the royal use, all privileges of ecclesiastical right notwithstanding. Whereupon the King's officers, acting on such instructions, sought how they might by some contrivance get rid of the Canons heretofore residing within the King's castle. And this they managed in the following way.

"It chanced that on one Rogation-tide, all the Canons together with their attendants went in procession from the close of Sarum to the church of St. Martin, and, the Rogation-office being completed, were returning in due time to the castle, but the officers of the King closed the gates against them and would allow none of them to enter. Whereupon, as children to a father, and disciples to a master, sundry of the Canons went to their Bishop who was then at Wilton, telling him of the harsh treatment they had met with, and intreating him, as far as he could, with his fatherly care to obtain for them a remedy.

"The Bishop after listening to them is said to have replied, with tears, 'When they persecute you in one city flee ye to another,'—and then he added, 'I vow and promise to Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, that, life being granted to me, I will labour earnestly to build an abode [*cameram*] and a Church for the chaste Virgin, the Mother of Christ, away from the King's castle, and removed from the royal power; and you, my children, bear ye your burden yet a little while, for verily the days are evil.' And thus he comforted them.

"After these things, the Bishop went to the King of England praying permission to build for himself and his clerks [*suis clericis*] a new church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, alleging the injury

done to himself and his Canons, and to the church of the Blessed Mary, in the time of the persecution, and adding that such foundation should not be in derogation of the rights of the King or of the kingdom; and further asking from the King, as from his own lord, a helping hand [*manus adjutrices*]. The King graciously assented to the Bishop's prayer, and moreover gave him permission to go to the Supreme Pontiff at Rome, asking for his sanction also for the building of his church. Whereupon the Bishop, giving thanks to God, and placing his manors, and his chattels moveable and immoveable [*catalla mobilia et immobilia*], as a pledge in the King's hands, went to the Court of Rome, and asked from the Pope a license to found the aforesaid church. The supreme Pontiff not only assented, but graciously gave the Bishop a letter addressed to the King, in which he urged him, as far as he might, to assist the Bishop in carrying out his work. The Bishop left the Pope with joy, and was hastening back to his own country. Whilst on the way, there met him a messenger who told him that the King of England was dead. When the Bishop heard this he began to meditate seriously within himself, fearing lest all his trouble had been in vain. But when eventide was come, and the holy man had given himself to sleep, there appeared to him in his dream the glorious Virgin [*virgo gloriosa*], who straightway consoled him, and bidding him cast away his fears, and with perseverance carry out the wishes of his heart, promised to be his helper (*adjutrix*) in all his difficulties. Awaking from his sleep the Bishop was not a little comforted, and straightway hastened homewards. Meanwhile a new King (Henry III.) had been crowned, and was tarrying awhile at Westminster. To him therefore the Bishop, the first to approach him with a prayer after his coronation, went without fear, and asked permission to transfer his church from the castle at Sarum. The King, guided by sound counsel, assented to the Bishop's prayer, and withal gave a royal charter bestowing upon him and his successors, and on the church of the Blessed Mary at Sarum, royal privileges; adding sundry gifts, and promising more. As soon as the holy pastor returned to his flock he called them all together, priests and people [*clericum et populum*], and then told them what he had done,

and what had befallen him on the way, and what were his hopes for his church, whereupon in their gratitude they chanted forth with joy 'Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.'

"Meanwhile the holy Bishop betakes him to his work, anxious now to find a proper site whereon to build his church. At last he bethought himself that he might obtain one from the Abbess of Wilton, by reason of the surrounding advantages of water and wood, and a good town, already famous and supplied with all necessary things. Accordingly he proposed to the Abbess that he should build his church in a meadow close by Wilton. But when, on a certain occasion, the Bishop went over to Wilton on this business, to examine the proposed site, a certain old seamstress (*quædam vetula filatrix*) said to one of her companions—'I marvel,' quoth she, 'concerning that Bishop who cometh over so often to Wilton: perchance he meaneth to marry the Abbess, for since he came from Rome he so often cometh hither. Methinks the Holy Father may perhaps have granted him a dispensation, so that he may take her to wife.' But her companion answered her, 'Nay, it is not so—it is a false report concerning the holy man. He meaneth to transfer his church and his close to Wilton, and therefore he cometh hither.' Then answered that old seamstress (*illa vetula filatrix*), 'Hath not the Bishop land of his own, but that he must needs spoil the Abbess? Verily he hath many more sites on which he may build his church besides this at Wilton.' When the holy man heard of these words, he straightway bethought himself of choosing a site on his own proper demésne (*in dominio suo proprio*). But he was troubled in mind, and so commended himself to the Most High God, by whose Providence no one is deceived, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the following night he was comforted by a certain vision. There appeared to him the Blessed Virgin Mary, telling him that he should choose as the site whereon to build his church a place called Myrfeld. The Bishop, much comforted by the vision, gave thanks to God. A few days afterwards, as the Bishop, unable to recollect where there was a place of the name indicated to him, was walking out, Almighty God so ordering it, one of his servants exclaimed in his hearing that he saw a yoke of oxen in a meadow which he called by the name of

Myrfeld. Whereupon the Bishop enquired of the people standing around more particularly concerning that place, and having certified himself respecting it, founded there the venerable church of the Blessed Mary at Sarum, in the year of grace, 1220; to wit, on the day of St. Vitalis the Martyr, in the month of April."

Of course some allowance must be made for the legendary form of the above narrative. There are chronological difficulties in a literal acceptation of its statements, inasmuch as Richard Poore did not become Bishop of Sarum till *after* the accession of Henry III. to the throne. Still there are certain facts which it seems fairly enough to establish, as to the various efforts made from time to time to remove the cathedral and the see from Old Sarum, and also as to a site having been at last found on land belonging to Bishop Richard Poore himself, in fact, on his *private property*, for the expression in the original "*in dominio suo proprio*," can mean no less than this. The reverence of the age for the Blessed Virgin may well account too for the idea which at all events was at one time prevalent—perhaps there are some that cling to it even to this day—that the name "Myr-field" was, after all, but a form of "*Mary-field*." A far simpler explanation however is to be found in the fact, that the site chosen was at the very point of junction of the *three* ancient hundreds of Underditch, Alderbury, and Cawdon, and was therefore naturally enough called *mǽr-ƒelde, i.e.*, boundary-field. To this day the wall or boundary of the Close at Sarum, which itself is in the hundred of Underditch, is the division between the cathedral precincts and the parish of Britford which is in the hundred of Cawdon.

It will be well to trace, as they are placed before us in formal documents, the various steps that were taken for carrying out the great work of Richard Poore's episcopate—the building a Cathedral at New Sarum.

Very shortly after his return to Sarum active efforts were commenced. In 1218 he summoned his Chapter—*all* his Canons that is, the only sense in which "Chapter" is used in olden days[1]—and

[1] So it is expressly stated in the Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral:—"Quinquaginta et sex canonici cum capite suo corpus et capitulum constituunt; negotia Ecclesiæ et secreta tractant." Novum Registrum, p. 28.

took counsel with them. Without their concurrence he could, and would, do nothing. Well acquainted, as he was, with the laws and customs of his Church, he fully recognised the Canons of his Cathedral as forming together one corporate body, with the Bishop at their head, for the service of the cathedral and the administration of the diocese.[1] Amongst those who formed the "Chapter" on this occasion were Adam of Ivelchester (or Ilchester) the Dean, and William de Wanda, who had quite recently been appointed Precentor. It was determined, first of all, to send special messengers to Rome, asking permission from the Pope for the removal of the cathedral and for the blessing of the Holy Father on the undertaking; and, secondly, as their own offering, to devote *one fourth* of their revenues for the next seven years to the furtherance of the good work.[2] The delegates from the Chapter, whom William de Wanda describes as "*summos nuncios*," carried with them letters from Cardinal Gualo, Legate of the Apostolic See in England, which had been framed on an inquisition taken by him concerning the matter with the object of laying open the necessities of the Church, the distresses of the clergy, and the inconvenience of the situation. In due time they returned from Rome, bringing with them a bull from the Pope (Honorius III.) fully sanctioning the work, and giving them authority to proceed with it.

In the following year (1219) a real commencement was made, for the Bishop seems to have set apart a portion of the site as a cemetery,

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[1] The scrupulous way in which Bishop Richard Poore always consulted his chapter is especially to be noticed; many instances of this will occur in the course of the narrative. He must have been well aware of the reproof administered not many years before by Pope Alexander III. (in 1180) to the Patriarch of Jerusalem for making certain appointments without consulting his Chapter:—"Novit tuæ discretionis prudentia, qualiter tu et fratres tui unum corpus sitis, ita quod tu caput, et illi membra esse probantur. Unde non decet te, omissis membris, *aliorum consilio* in ecclesiæ tuæ negotiis uti; cum id, non sit dubium, et honestati tuæ et sanctorum patrum institutionibus contrarium." Decret. Lib. III., Tit. x., cap. iv.

[2] A copy of this decree of chapter, translated, will be found in "Antiquitates Sarisburienses," pp. 72-74. The quarterly payments were to be made in the Chapter House of Sarum on the Feast of All Saints, the Purification of S. Mary the Virgin, the Feast of the Ascension, and "Ad Vincula S. Petri." See Wilkins' Concilia, i., 552.

and erected a temporary wooden Chapel,[1] in which, on the Trinity Sunday of that year, he celebrated divine service. Meanwhile he again called his Chapter together—for though summoned I presume by the Dean it is expressly stated that it was in pursuance of "the mandate of the Bishop citing all the Canons"—on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15th), and then, in addition to certain resolutions concerning building houses of residence,[2] it was determined that the translation of the cathedral should take place on the Feast of All Saints (November 1st), then next following; and further that sundry of the Canons should go as "preachers," or collectors of alms, in behalf of the new cathedral, to various dioceses. William de Wanda the Precentor went to the diocese of London; Hugh de Garherst to that of Winchester; William de Wilton to Exeter; Luke, described as the King's Treasurer (*Thesaurarius Regis*), to Chichester; Robert, "The Scot," fittingly enough to Scotland.[3]

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[1] A.D. 1219.—"Inchoata fuit nova capella lignea apud Novum Sarum in honorum Beatæ Mariæ Virginis." Reg. Osmund. Under the same year we have an entry also relating to Richard de Clifford, who on his decease left to the Church of Sarum, "unum cipheum aureum et cochlearium unum." Wilkins' Concil, i., 555.

[2] A decree was made that "the heirs of the first builders of houses of residence, as well Vicars as Canons, should receive two parts of the value of what should be built, the third part being yielded for the land; the collation and appointment to the houses, after the first sale of the vacant houses, to be left to the Bishop; but the family of the deceased person who first built, or the persons to whom the said two parts were assigned, were to remain in possession of the said houses, till satisfaction were made of the aforesaid value according to the last will of the deceased Canon."

[3] When a Cathedral needed rebuilding or repairing, the Bishop selected from among his clergy a few "preachers," and along with them sent a saint's shrine (*feretrum*), in which were enclosed relics, to be carried by young clerks in procession through the country. On reaching a town these relics were forthwith taken to the Church and left on one of its altars during their stay there. The "preacher" spoke to the crowds who flocked thither, and those who could afford it threw their offerings on the altar or on the shrine. Thus, in the old statutes of Lichfield (Mon. Angl. viii., 1257), we read "Si contingat quod feretrum debeat per aliquas partes remotas ad elemosinas colligendas deportari, solempnis debet ficri pulsatio, quando *feretrum* affertur et quando refertur." See Rock's Church of our Fathers, iii., 481.

William de Wanda gives us rather a graphic account of the difficulty the Bishop experienced in obtaining the services of such "preachers," or, rather, "seekers of alms" (*immo magis elemosynarum petitores*) in the various dioceses of England. He first applied to the "Vicars," and asked them to volunteer for such a good work, and they gave their assent. But on the morrow they changed their minds, and, notwithstanding the Bishop's earnest words, declined to undertake the office.[1] He then turned to the Canons of his church, and with "sighs and even tears" besought them, for the love of God, to take upon them this high office and privilege. Even amongst them there were not a few who excused themselves on various grounds, and the good Precentor, who writes the narrative and was himself one of the volunteers, is careful to explain that those who went on this errand did so at the cost of no small personal sacrifices:—"instante Nativitate Domini, relictis propriis domiciliis et quæ sibi paraverunt ad dies festos, peregre profecti sunt, unusquisque ad regionem sibi deputatam."

We are not told, as far as I know, the result of their efforts. Enough success however seems to have been secured to justify further steps. For on the Feast of St. Vitalis (28th April), in the year 1220, the foundations of the new church were laid. It was a solemn function proposed by the good Bishop, at which he had hoped for the presence of many of the chief people of the realm. But the King and his nobles were on the borders of Wales making a treaty with the Welsh. Still, though few earls or barons were present, the common people flocked in from all parts. And on the day appointed, after secret prayer, and solemn invocation of the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Bishop, bare-headed and bare-footed, walked slowly, accompanied by the Canons of his church, singing the litany, to the place of foundation. There, after an address to the assembled people, five stones were laid by the Bishop—the first for the Pope, Honorius III.; a second for Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury and

[1] William de Wanda is very severe on the Vicars who thus changed their minds: "In crastino, vel *pravorum consilio*, vel *instinctu diabolico*, quod prius annuerant penitus renuerunt, nec unus ex omnibus eis inventus est, qui in se onus istud ob ecclesiæ suæ honorem susciperet." Reg. Osmund.

Cardinal of the Roman Church; a third for himself; a fourth for William de Longespée, Earl of Salisbury; the fifth for Ela, his wife, "a woman worthy of all honour because full of the fear of God." After these, a few others, (*quidam magnates, pauci tamen*) each laid a stone; then Adam the Dean, William de Wanda the Precentor, Hugh the Chancellor, and then the Archdeacons and Canons who were present did the same, amid the acclamations of the people, many weeping for joy, and all contributing their alms with a ready mind, according to the ability which God had given them. Within a short time the nobles returning from Wales, several of them came hither, and laying each their stone, bound themselves to some special contribution for the seven years next following.

And now the work was commenced in earnest. There is a tradition that the good Bishop watched its progress from time to time, and that for awhile, at all events, he built for himself a kind of "prophet's chamber," in which he might lodge, so as to be on the spot, and able personally to urge on the great work which he had undertaken. And tradition further marks out the site of the Bishop's lodging as having been at what is now called Mitre-corner, but which in olden times, if I mistake not, was an hostel designated by the sign of "The Lamb." To this day a Bishop, on the occasion of his enthronization, starts in procession from the spot I have indicated, and a very old custom it is; for I have seen a document by which certain officials of the cathedral are declared to be entitled to the carpet on which the Bishop walked—some to that strewn from the "Lamb Hostelry" (*ab ostio hospicii agni*) to the west-door—others to that from the west door to the high altar—or from the high altar to the Bishop's throne—or from the throne to the altar in the Treasury.[1] How far the tradition I have referred to has much truth in it I venture not to say, still it is one of those testimonies—the force of which we cannot gainsay—to the real earnestness with which the Bishop threw his whole soul into the great work of building a new cathedral.

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[1] See a "Processional" of the date of the fifteenth century in the Cathedral library. MS. 145, fol. 45.

Within three months of the solemn inauguration of his undertaking, on the Festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15th, 1220), another Chapter was held, the Bishop being present as himself a Canon, at which it was enacted, for the greater security of the performance of the work, in the event of any Canon of the Church failing to pay what he had promised to the fabric-fund, that, next after fifteen days from the term elapsed, some one should be sent, on the part of the Bishop and Chapter, to raise what was due from the corn found on the prebend, and, so long as the said Proctor of the Chapter should remain there for the purpose, he was to be maintained with all necessaries by the goods of the said prebend. And if the prebend of any Canon failing in the payment of what was proposed were in any other diocese, such Canon should be denounced to his own Bishop, by the letters of the Chapter, for his contumacy, and be suspended from entering the church, or from celebration of divine service, or excommunicated, as the Chapter might think fit.

At the close of this general convocation of the Canons, which commenced on the morrow of the Feast of the Assumption, and lasted for *three* days, Adam the Dean went to Sunning where he arrived on the octave of the Assumption (August 22nd, 1220), for the purpose no doubt of visiting the prebendal estates, and enquiring, as was his duty, into various matters connected with the performance of divine service there. He was suddenly taken ill and died within two days, namely, on the eve of the Feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th. His body was brought for interment to Sarum.

The narrative of William de Wanda, who was elected Dean at a Chapter held on Sunday next after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th), and who gives us a very interesting account of the way in which he was chosen by the votes of the Canons—the Bishop, as De Wanda takes especial care to tell us, being himself present as a Canon (*Dominus autem Episcopus qui et Canonicus est*),[1] and, as it would appear, promoting his success—here has a break in it for some five years, and proceeds to describe the solemn

[1] Reg. Osmund. Wilk. Concilia, i., 556.

consecration, in 1225, of such portion of the Cathedral as was then completed, comprising probably very little if any more than what we now call the Lady Chapel.

During those *five* years however both Bishop and Dean were exerting themselves strenuously for their cathedral, and, according to Matthew Paris, they succeeded in enlisting the help and sympathies of many others.[1] He gives us what he calls an "elegant" distich in memory of it, which it is not easy to translate:—

> "Rex largitur opes, fert Præsul opem, lapicidæ
> Dant operam; tribus his, est opus ut stet opus."

It will be well to gather up from documents and incidental notices relating to those five years (1220—1225) some glimpses of Bishop Richard Poore and his fellow-workers.

First of all, I may say that it was a noble band that he had gathered around him. To his Dean, who threw his whole soul into the work, we are indebted for a full account of the proceedings. There is an entry in the account of the election of Robert Bingham as the successor of Richard Poore which seems to imply, that, had it not been for the accident of his birth, William de Wanda himself might have been Bishop of Sarum. The Register which goes by the name of S. Osmund is far more accurately to be described as his, or—as I have once at least seen it called—that of Richard Poore. Then as Precentor in those days there was Roger of Sarum, holding at that time annexed to his stall the prebend of Teynton Regis,[2] soon afterwards judged worthy of advancement to the see of Bath and Wells.[3] Then there was Henry de Bishopeston, a man of real

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[1] The words of Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora," iii., 391 (Rolls Edition), are as follows: "Ad quod opus promovendum, non tantum Episcopus, immo Rex, et cum eo multi magnates manum porrexerunt adjutricem. Unde quidam ait satis eleganter. 'Rex largitur opes,' &c." The lines are really from a poem entitled "De translatione veteris ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis et constructione novæ," by Henry of Avranches, a kind of court poet to Henry III. See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, iii., 189. In the poem (which is in MS. Cantab Univ. Lib., Dd. 11. 78) the words are: "Rex igitur det opes, Præsul det opem, Lapicidæ," &c.

[2] See Oliver's History of the Bishops of Exeter, p. 415.

[3] See Freeman's History of the Church of Wells, p. 106.

learning, who "read the decretals at Oxford" and then "*governed the schools*" at New Sarum—by which I understand that he was Chancellor (*ad cujus officium pertinet scholas regere*), who in truth was elected Dean but declined the offered dignity. Then as Treasurer, there was Edmund Rich (or Edmund of Abingdon), so soon afterwards summoned from his prebend of Calne, where he was caring for the interests temporal and spiritual of his flock, to fill the chair of Canterbury, an Englishman in name, and race, and heart, who had to wage a weary strife alike against Pope and King—our second sainted Edmund, whose memory still seems fresh among us from the chapel in the cathedral which can still be identified as his, and the church of St. Edmund and its once noble foundation, dedicated to him in this city. And then, in his Archdeacon of Wilts, who was also a Canon of his cathedral, he had Robert Grosseteste, perhaps, in force of character, the greatest of them all, soon called to be Bishop of Lincoln, and whilst there the rebuker of Popes, the hammer and despiser of the Romans, whom neither favours nor threats could cause to swerve one hair's breadth from what he felt to be the path of duty. Besides these there were Robert Bingham (his successor in this see); and Luke, described as the King's Treasurer and Dean of St. Martin's, London; and Martin de Patteshull, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's; and Elias de Derham, described as "Rector" of the new church for twenty-five years from its foundation, an office corresponding, it may be, with that of "Magister Fabricæ;" and Henry de Teissun, who had been the delegate from the Chapter to the Pope, and brought from Rome the bull authorising the translation of the Church; and Philip, Abbot of Sherborne, who, in virtue of his abbacy held a stall in the cathedral, and who, though recently opposed to his diocesan,[1] had now

[1] Philip, Abbot of Sherborne (*c.* 1222-26), had entered on his abbacy without the special authority of Herbert, Bishop of Sarum. There is a deed in "Osmund's Register" by which he pledges himself that for the future no abbot of Sherborn should be enthroned unless by the Bishop of Sarum, or by his special mandate. By virtue of his office the Abbot of Sherborne held a prebend, (ita ut qui Abbas fuerit locum in choro et capitulo obtineat) that of Loders being assigned to him. Reg. Osmund. fol. xxvii. See Hutchins, Dorset, i., 377, 384.

made his submission, and no doubt worked well and zealously with his Bishop. These and others, a goodly array of great and worthy fellow-workers, rallied round the good Bishop in his efforts to build his cathedral.

There are indications moreover that some contributed in kind, and others in personal labour, to the work. The expression in the couplet already quoted from Matthew Paris, "*Lapicidæ dant operam*," may fairly be interpreted as implying some such offering on the part of the workers in stone; and amongst things "excerpted out of the Martyrologe Boke at Saresbyrie" by Leland, was this entry, that one "Alice Bruer gave all the marble to the church for ten years."[1] It is some little interest to know that this same Alice Bruer held in dower, by gift of her husband, the manor of Worth (Matravers), in Dorset, and further, that Downshay, in the Isle of Purbeck, which is in that parish, is the "*situs manerii*." Now, close to the farm-house at Downshay, it so happens that are still to be seen the remains of worked-out quarries of marble. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the Purbeck shafts and capitals in our cathedral were derived from that source.

As though in contrast with the band of really great and learned men that Richard Poore had gathered around him at Sarum, we find that the state of the clergy generally was very sad indeed—ignorance being prevalent everywhere. Of course the difficult times through which they had passed rendered such a state of things to a certain extent unavoidable. We have striking proof given us in some records found in the Old Register, to which allusion has been so often made.[2] They relate to the visit paid by William de Wanda, immediately after his appointment as Dean, to those prebends or

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[1] See Wilts Mag., i. 169.

[2] The extracts from the Regist. Osmund. to which allusion is here made, are given, together with others to the same effect, in Maskell's "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England," p. 181. In the Old Register itself they are written in a cotemporary hand, and were most probably the authentic record of the time. They are valuable as showing the discipline that was maintained, even in those disturbed days, and proving that the "Canon of the Mass" was made the test of competent knowledge.

estates over which he exercised special jurisdiction. It may not be generally known, that, even to a very recent period, the Dean of Sarum exercised this authority, not only delivering charges and making the usual enquiries on the occasion of his visitation, but examining candidates for orders who were about to take charge of any of those parishes, and giving his certificate of their competency to the Bishop in order to their ordination by him, they afterwards holding their appointments with the formal license of the Dean. Accordingly, on the vigil of S. Michael (1220), William de Wanda commenced such a visitation at Sunning, enquiring not only into the state and competency of the clergy, but also concerning the "ornaments," including under this title the various service-books of the churches. An extract or two may be interesting. At Sunning there was one Vitalis, as Perpetual Vicar. He presented to the Dean one of his "capellani," by name Simon, who, asked concerning his orders, stated that he was ordained a Sub-Deacon at Oxford by a certain Irish Bishop named Albinus, then Suffragan (*Vicario*) of the Bishop of Lincoln; that he was ordained Deacon by the same; and Priest, by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, some four years previously. Examined in the gospel for the first Sunday in Advent, he was found utterly wanting, not in the least understanding what he read. Tested concerning the "Canon of the Mass," which commences "*Te igitur clementissime Pater rogamus,*" &c., he had no idea whatever in what case "TE" was, or by what word in the sentence it was governed. The Dean requested Simon the Chaplain to look again carefully at the words, when, after a little thought, he said that he supposed "TE" was governed by "PATER," because "the Father governs all things."[1] The Dean then asked him the case of "*clementissime,*" and how to decline the word, and in truth its simple meaning—but on all points Simon professed his ignorance.

[1] The original account is as follows—"Nescivit cujus casus esset 'Te' nec a qua parte regeretur. Et cum dictum esset ei, ut diligenter inspiceret quæ pars competentius regere 'Te,' dixit, quod Pater, qui omnia regit. Requisitus quid esset 'clementissime,' vel cujus casus, vel qualiter declinaretur; nescivit. Requisitus super quo fuisset probatus quando ordinem presbyteratus accessit: dicit quod non meminit. Sufficienter illiteratus est." Reg. Osmund. fol. xli.

He further knew nothing about the antiphons—nor of the singing of hymns—not even of the well-known one "*Nocte surgentes*"—nothing of the "Divine office"—nothing whatever of the psalter by heart,[1] though the ability to repeat the psalter was then required of every deacon before his admission to the order of the priesthood. Asked by whom and in what he was examined before his ordination as a Priest, Simon could not remember, and in the end, contented himself by protesting against the unbecoming course adopted by the Dean of examining one already ordained at all. Notwithstanding his protest the Dean—and no wonder—took a decided course, and pronounced him to be "sufficiently unlearned" (*sufficienter illiteratus est*).

In like manner the chaplains of Hurst, Sandhurst, Roscomb, and Erburgh—all then dependencies of Sunning—were examined. Several at the first entered into a private agreement among themselves not to reply at all to the questions of the Dean, and only did so on his stoutly insisting upon it (*ad magnam instanciam Dn̄i Decani*). They were found sadly incompetent—one could neither read nor sing—another, after floundering about a little while, refused to attempt any further answer, and was promptly suspended from his functions—a third, old and blind withal, could neither see nor repeat by heart the words of the canon or of the gospel, and he was forbidden to officiate any more. Vitalis himself, the Perpetual Vicar of Sunning, was therefore admonished that, unless he obtained the services of more efficient "capellani"—in these days we should call them "Assistant Curates"—the Dean would take the benefices into his own hands.

The extracts bearing on these matters from the Old Register are very interesting, as they contain an enumeration of the "ornaments," both of the churches and ministers. Of course there were examinations in which the candidates were declared to be "sufficiently learned" (*sufficienter literati*), but they were the exception rather

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[1] See Rock's Church of our Fathers, iii., 5. A Vicar Choral of Sarum, when admitted a probationer, took an oath to the same effect:—"Psalterium bene addiscam infra annum." See Cath. Com. Rep., p. 382.

than the rule, and the good Dean was compelled, I fear, at the last to accept a very low standard of efficiency.

There can be little doubt but that during those five years of which I am now speaking the Cathedral Chapter itself was reorganised. The number of Canons established by Bishop Osmund, including the "four principal persons," was, it would seem, *thirty-six*. The successive charters contained among the episcopal muniments, and entries in the Old Register also, record manifold gifts during the intervening century, so that we find that in Bishop Richard Poore's time there were no less than *fifty-two* Canons, the Bishop, in virtue of his prebend of Horton, having also a place in Chapter as a Canon, and making the *fifty-third*.[1] Moreover a new, or at least an enlarged, constitution seems to be alluded to in what is called "*Capituli Sarisburiensis prima Convocatio*," which was held in 1225, a list of all the Canons cited to attend being given in the Old Register. We have no certain information, as far as I know at present, as to the *precise* period at which certain lands, or "præbendæ," were annexed to the several stalls held by the Canons, and without the possession of which no member of the Cathedral body—not even an Archdeacon—even though he might have a "stall in choir," could claim to have a "voice in chapter."[2] Originally, as we know, there was one common fund out of which all the members of the cathedral, in regular gradation, from the highest personage—the Dean—down to the humblest servitor, received his support and sustenance. The Bishop indeed, though described as the head of the cathedral, the Dean and Canons forming with him *one body* (*unum corpus*), would seem, from earliest times, to have had his separate estates. And at a

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[1] In the account given in the Old Register (p. 160) of the election of Robert Bingham as Bishop, in 1229, it is said "Summa omnium Canonicorum est 52, præter Episcopum qui est Canonicus, et est 53^{tius}." At first the prebend of Horton was held by the Bishop but in the year 1254, in the time of William of York, this was exchanged for the prebend of Potterne. Reg. Osmund. fol. xx.

[2] There is in the statute book of the Cathedral, as framed in 1319 by Bishop Roger de Mortival, a statute entitled "De non admittendis ad tractatus Capituli qui nondum sunt assecuti corpora præbendarum," and to this there is a significant marginal note to this effect: "*Nota*—contra Archidiaconos qui non habent corpora præbendarum."

very early period also each Canon obtained his separate "prebend," for in the charter of Henry II., in 1162, we have a distinct mention of the prebend of Rotefen (afterwards exchanged for Winterbourn Earls), and in the same charter it is stated that Bishop Jocelin had created a separate prebend out of the moiety of the oblations of the principal altar.[1] There is mention also of a special grant of a virgate of land (about thirty-two acres) for the correction, or, as I take it, the repair of the books,[2] a duty devolving on the Chancellor; and it is an interesting fact, that, until quite recently, a small portion of land at or near Old Sarum (in Stratford in fact) was always held by lease under the Chancellor. Moreover, as early as 1141 (as appears by a charter of King Stephen) the Churches of Odiham and Bricklesworth (or Brixworth) were bestowed as an endowment on the same high dignitary (*ad opus magistri scolæ Sar.*), and we know that the prebend of Bricklesworth was always annexed to the Chancellorship, until in 1864, by an act of the Close Chapter to say the least of questionable legality, it was unhappily divorced from it, in defiance of the traditions of more than *seven hundred* years. Each prebend no doubt was sufficiently valuable to render the great majority of the Canons indifferent as to obtaining that increase in income which residence at the cathedral afforded from the common fund, the more so as the expenses of such residence were so disproportionate to such increase as to lead them to speak of it as "bearing the burden and heat of the day."[3] Hence the necessity of statutes which should provide not only for the residence of the Canons,[4] but also for the due visitation of the prebendal estates from time to time. During the time that Richard Poore

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[1] "Medietatem oblationum principalis altaris sicut Jocelinus Episcopus dedit eam *in præbendam*. This is the prebend of "*Minor*," or (as it was sometimes termed) "*Media* pars Altaris."

[2] This was made in 1220. The document is printed in Hatcher and Benson, p. 726. "Carta Ricardi Episcopi Sarum de donacone fact. Cancellario pro libris corrigendis."

[3] This is the expression used in Bishop Roger de Mortival's Statutes. See cap. iv.—"De contributione pro communibus ecclesiæ negotiis communiter facienda."

[4] As regards the residence of the Canons there were two statutes passed, one in 1214, when Richard Poore was Dean, and another in 1222, when he was Bishop. By

held the office of Dean (as we have already intimated), and after he became Bishop, sundry statutes were passed—all implying that he made every effort that his Chapter should be efficient not only for the spiritual work of the cathedral, but, as the Bishop's council, be helpful in the various works of his diocese.

The same care for his Cathedral would seem to be implied in that very interesting inventory of the "*Ornamenta Ecclesiæ*,"[1] which is contained in this same Old Register, which gives a list of them as they were found in 1214, the time when Richard Poore was Dean, and as they were accounted for by Abraham, Treasurer of the Cathedral, in 1222. Of course this inventory refers to the cathedral of Old Sarum, and would seem to have been specially taken at this time with a view to the removal of these "ornaments" to the new cathedral, the eastern portion of which was now slowly rising from the ground. Some few of them are interesting enough. There were no less than *four* pastoral staffs, one of them treasured no doubt highly, though broken, because once belonging to the saintly Osmund. Many a cope was also treasured up, once worn by Canons then resting beneath the shadow of the old Cathedral—of Bishop Roger—of Azo and Richard, successive Archdeacons of Sarum—of Ranulf, Treasurer—of John, Succentor. There was a pall which Bishop Herbert had offered at the tomb of St. Osmund. There was a large silken veil, besides smaller veils of the same costly material, for the sepulchre and the fonts. There was also in 1214 a chasuble which was afterwards used at the burial of Thomas, Treasurer of the cathedral, for it was the custom for priests to be buried in their sacred vestments.[2]

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the *former* it was ordered that one fourth part of the Canons should reside together with the four dignitaries (Quatuor Personæ), or pay the fifth part of their prebends to the common fund; by the *latter* this provision was so far modified, for a time at least, "consideratis gravaminibus quæ sustinent canonici tam in ædificatione at domorum quam in præstatione fabricæ novæ," that each Canon for the seven next ensuing years should only have to reside forty days. This last statute was entitled "Constitutio Ricardi Episcopi Sarum cum consensu Decani et Canonicorum de residencia facienda." See Cath. Com. Rep., pp. 12, 370.

[1] This is printed in Hatcher and Benson, p. 718.

[2] Rock's "Church of our Fathers," ii., 304.

But there is another great work, which, in the form at all events in which it appears in the Old Register, was, I believe, compiled at this same eventful period in the history of our Cathedral. What is commonly termed the "Consuetudinary of S. Osmund"—the oldest MS. of which is found in this same register—must have been so arranged about the year 1222, because (first of all) the handwriting is of the same character and date as the narrative of De Wanda the Dean (which is bound up in the same volume), and then, in the next place, because there is a reference in it to the "Festival of S. Michael in monte tumba" (§. xliv.), which was appointed as a lesser holiday by the Council of Oxford in A.D. 1222. As regards S. Osmund himself, what he did was *this*—to choose out of the practices he saw in use around him and so to arrange the church offices that the clergy might have one uniform rule to guide them whilst performing their respective functions within the sanctuary, and their several duties amid their flocks. To a great extent, probably, the "Consuetudinary" is as Osmund left it; though the opening sentence (as we have it) seems to imply that it only professes to be an account of what he ordained, and not the original document itself.[1] A work of this kind in any case could not at once have arrived at anything like completeness, but must have been gradually compiled, and adapted from time to time to the changing circumstances of the church itself.

As in some sort a corroboration of the view now advanced of the Consuetudinary having been arranged, as we now have it, in prospect of the consecration of the new cathedral, two interesting facts may be mentioned. Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin (1213-28), who was present on that occasion, was the prelate who in 1219 erected S. Patrick's Dublin into a Cathedral Church, and very shortly afterwards a copy of the Consuetudinary was made for its use, that so its ordinal might be "*ad exemplar insignis Ecclesiæ Sarum.*" Again, in the year 1223, among the acts and statutes of

[1] The opening words are as follows: "Personas, et eorum officia, dignitates, et consuetudines, quibus Ecclesia Sarisbiriensis ordinatur et regitur, *juxta institutionem* felicis memoriæ Osmundi, presens tractatus explanat." The document itself is entitled "De officiis ecclesiasticis tractatus."

Gervase, Bishop of S. David's, was one which established the precentorship there, and ordained that the office of S. Mary the Virgin and that for the dead should be according to the ordinal of the Church of Sarum.[1]

But now these five years are drawing to a close, and the Bishop saw the new Cathedral rising from the ground. The alms of the faithful were given ungrudgingly, supplementing the offerings made by the Bishop and his cathedral body. For, in obedience to his directions, all Priests in the diocese put dying persons in mind of a charitable contribution to the cathedral, and in many churches throughout England offerings were given on behalf of the same good object. Hence, in the year 1225, the Bishop seeing the new building sufficiently advanced to admit of divine service being celebrated in it, directed William de Wanda the Dean, to cite all the Canons for the Festival of S. Michael and All Angels then next ensuing. On the previous day, which, as it happened, fell on a Sunday, accompanied by Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry de Loundres Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop went in early morning and solemnly consecrated three altars, in what we now call the Lady Chapel and its two side aisles—all probably that was then completed of the cathedral. Entering in solemn procession through S. Peter's Porch, he went first to the eastern part, and there dedicated what was then the high altar, in honor of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and All Saints. There, henceforth, the mass of the Blessed Virgin was appointed to be sung day by day, the Bishop offering for the service of that altar two silver candlesticks and two silver ewers, which had been bequeathed to the church by Gundreda de Warren, and also out of his own property ten marks yearly to maintain lamps round the same altar, and thirty marks yearly to the clerks who might from time to time officiate at the said mass—the latter arising from the

[1] "Servitium etiam de S̄ca Maria et servitium pro defunctis fiat secundum ordinale ecclesiæ Sarum." Of course it does not necessarily follow from these words that the "Sarum use" should be the rule in other besides these two services, but they prove the recognition of that "use." See Councils and Documents (Haddan and Stubbs), i., 459. Harl. MS., 1249, fol. 2.

Rectory of Laverstock, which still to this day belongs to the commonalty of the Vicars Choral. Next the Bishop consecrated an altar at the east end of the north aisle in honor of S. Peter and the rest of the apostles, and a third in a like place in the south aisle, in honor of S. Stephen and the noble army of Martyrs. This was the solemn inauguration of his great undertaking. Before going down again to the Bishop's house they spent some hours in the new Church —no doubt part of them in private prayer—for none knew better than our Bishop that,—"Except the Lord build the house, they labor but in vain that build it."

On the following day—the Festival of S. Michael and All Angels —the grand public function of consecration was carried on. First of all, a sermon was preached to the people, who flocked in numbers to listen, by Stephen Langton, the Archbishop. Where it was preached we are, as far as I am aware, not told—it was most probably in the open space between the Bishop's house and the southern entrance to the cathedral, then by S. Peter's Porch, which was not removed till the close of the last century. The sermon ended, they entered the new church in procession and celebrated divine service therein, carrying out in this, without doubt, all the directions contained in the Consuetudinary.[1] Many knights and barons were present, together with the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Durham, Wells, Rochester, and of Evreux in Normandy.

Four days afterwards, King Henry III., attended by Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary, came to the Cathedral, and after hearing the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, gave as offerings a costly piece of silk and ten marks of silver. At the same time the King granted the privilege of holding a fair annually from the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin—eight days complete. The Justiciary, moreover,

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[1] William de Wanda gives us no detailed account of the consecration of the of the cathedral; it is not worth our while therefore to draw upon our imagination to describe the ceremony, which was no doubt very imposing. All he says is "Episcopus intravit novam basilicam, et in ea divina solemniter celebravit." The reader who is curious in such matters may see the office "De Ecclesiæ Consecratione" from a Pontifical of Sarum Use, in Maskell's Monum. Ritualia, i., 162—203.

vowed that he would give a gold TEXT[1] set with precious stones, and also relics of divers saints for the service of the church. And in accordance with this vow, a short time after, Luke Dean of S. Martin's London, and Thomas Kent, described as "clerks of the Justiciary," brought the promised Text and offered it on the altar. By order of the Bishop and Canons then present, it was then delivered to the Treasurer to be kept in safety.

Three months afterwards—at Christmas-tide 1225—the King came again to the cathedral, and there, on Holy Innocents Day, offered a gold cup of the weight of ten marks, together with a gold ring adorned with a ruby; commanding that the precious stone and the gold of the ring should be applied to the enrichment of the Text which had been the gift of his Justiciary. At the same time the Text itself was brought out, and again offered with much devotion upon the altar.

On the following Sunday the Bishop obtained consent from his Chapter that the new chapel and altar should remain in his custody for the seven years then next ensuing, and that the offerings, except such as might be given specially for "ornaments," should be devoted to the fabric fund. After the seven years all was to be paid over to the Treasurer, and the proceeds applied to the common use. And as regards the general management, the Bishop committed everything to the care of Elias de Derham, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence.[2]

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[1] The TEXTUS, or Evangelarium, a codex containing the four gospels, whence the Anglo-Saxons called it "Christ's-Book," was always beautiful, often magnificent. Sometimes not a few of its leaves were dyed purple, whereon the writing was traced in gold or silver characters, and many a page glowed with elaborate and dazzling illuminations. Sheets of gold studded with pearls and precious stones were not thought too good for its binding. In the thirteenth century there were belonging to the Cathedral at Old Sarum, according to the "Old Register" (fol. 84), "Textus unus aureus magnus continens saphiros xx. et smaragdos vi. et thopazios viii. et alemandinas xviii. et gernettas xiii. et perlas xii. Item Textus unus parvus, cum imagine beatæ Mariæ cum lapidibus xix. Item Texti quatuor cooperti argento, deaurati omnes præter unum," &c. Rock's Church of Our Fathers, iv., 32. Maskell's Mon. Rit., I., liij.

[2] In Hatcher and Benson, p. 600 it is stated that Elias de Derham, of whom we have already spoken as having been "Rector" (=director) of the cathedral for

One event however was destined to throw a cloud over the joy with which Richard Poore saw the great desire of his heart so far accomplished. Within a few days of the royal visit, of which we have just spoken, there came another distinguished visitor. For on the Sunday next after the Epiphany (January 10th, 1226) William Longespée, Earl of Sarum, the husband of the good Ela, the foundress in one and the same day of the abbeys of Lacock and Hinton Charterhouse, himself a truly great and worthy man, having returned from Gascony—where he had been residing with Richard, the King's brother, for the defence of the city of Bordeaux—visited the cathedral. He was received there with great joy, a large procession attending him both on his arrival and his departure. Two months afterwards he died very suddenly, not without suspicion of treachery on the part of Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary. He was the first that found his last resting-place within the new cathedral, having been honorably interred there, in the presence of many Bishops, Earls, and others, on March 8th, 1226. The epitaph placed over him was as follows :—

> "Flos comitum Gulielmus abit, stirps regia; longus
> Ensis vaginam cepit habere brevem." *

A few months after this, on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, 1226, Bishop Richard Poore removed the bodies of three of his predecessors —of Osmund, Roger, and Joceline—from the precincts of the castle, in which they had been buried, to the new fabric. It is believed that their memorials can still be identified. That of S. Osmund is a large flat stone with the simple date MXCIX inscribed upon it, just now

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twenty-five years (p. 238), has been supposed by some to have been the architect of the cathedral; and also, though on what grounds the statement is made we are not told, that he built the canonical house in the Close called "Ledenhall." Thus much is certain, that Elias de Derham accompanied Bishop Richard Poore to Durham; and any one familiar with our cathedral must at once be impressed with the striking similarity of the chapel of the "Nine Altars" at the east end of Durham, to many portions of Salisbury. That addition was certainly in progress, if not quite completed, during the time that Richard Poore held the see of Durham.

* This epitaph has been Englished thus :—

> "Long-sword, his feats of warlike prowess past,
> Finds a short scabbard long enough at last."

lying under an arch in the north-east part of the Cathedral, but soon to be removed to a site which has been prepared for it in the centre of the Lady Chapel. That of Bishop Roger is most probably a slab with a cross inscribed upon it, lying still over what has been described as the site of his burial-place, "within an arch of the north aisle." That of Bishop Jocelin is, without doubt, the large effigy lying near the western entrance to the Cathedral on the south side, with an inscription down the centre of the chasuble and also round the slab itself, on which we have made some remarks in a previous page.[1]

But Richard Poore's work at Sarum was drawing to its close—not as regards the progress of the cathedral, but as concerns his superintendence of it. In truth the reverent translation of the bodies of his predecessors to the new fabric would seem to have been the last public function performed by him as Bishop of Sarum. Among those who had been present at the first dedication of his new cathedral was Richard de Marisco (=Marsh) Bishop of Durham. Very shortly afterwards that Bishop died suddenly at Peterborough, probably on his homeward journey, and his decease was the signal for the usual contests between the Church and the Crown. Several were nominated for the vacant see, but were set aside by Pope or King. The choice of the monks at last fell on Richard Poore. He received the news with unfeigned sorrow. His own wishes were over-ruled, and a decree, issued on May 14th, 1228 for his translation,[2] terminated a connection with his much-loved Sarum, which, as Canon, Dean, or Bishop, had endured for well-nigh forty years.

During the nine or ten remaining years of his life Richard Poore held the bishopric of Durham. There also, as at Chichester, and at Sarum, he left an abiding mark behind him. In truth he was a real benefactor to every place with which he had relations. We have seen what he did at Chichester, and at Sarum; at Durham he had the good fortune to terminate the disputes which had existed between the convent and the two preceding Bishops, besides discharging an immense debt—Matthew Paris[3] calls it "*debitum inestimabile*," and

[1] See Wilts Mag., xvii., 190.

[2] Anglia Sacra, i., 735.

[3] Chronica Majora, iii., 391 (Rolls Edition).

says that it amounted to more than 40,000 marks (*quadraginta millia marcarum*)—with which his immediate predecessor, Richard de Marisco, had loaded the Church.

Of one work however, which he carried out after he became Bishop of Durham, I must say a few words, because it is, so to speak, blended with the closing scenes of the life of this really holy Bishop. He became the second founder of a religious house at Tarrant in Dorset, which, no long time afterwards, became incorporated with the order of the Cistercians.[1] Originally established in the time of Richard I. by Ralph de Kaynes, it was considerably enlarged and also endowed by Richard Poore, who was a native of the place, and to whom William Kaynes, great-grandson of the first founder, had been given in ward during his minority. The whole society consisted in his time only of three ladies of good family, with their domestic servants or lay-sisters, who—without being attached to any of the recognized orders—retired from the world for the purpose of engaging in good and charitable works, at the same time employing themselves without let or hindrance in pious exercises and devout meditations—"If any ignorant person ask you of what order ye are, say that ye are of the order of St. James. If such answer seem strange, ask him what is order, and where he can find it in Holy Scripture more plainly described than by St. James. He tells us what is true religion, and what is right order. Pure religion and without stain, are his words, is to visit and help widows and orphans, and to keep himself pure and unstained from the world. This is what St. James calls religion and order."

The words just quoted are from the "Ancren Riwle," or "Rule for Anchoresses," a treatise on the rules and duties of monastic life, which was addressed to these "sisters" at Tarrant. And there is every reason for believing that this remarkable treatise was the work of Bishop Richard Poore[2] Certainly his great learning, his active

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[1] Rot. Itin., 50 H. 3. *m.* 8.

[2] This treatise, under the title of "The Ancren Riwle," was published by the Camden Society, in 1853. The editor, Canon Morton, Vicar of Holbeach, gives, as it seems to me, conclusive reasons for believing it to have been the work of

benevolence, the sanctity of his life, and his tender care for the spiritual welfare of his friends and dependents, shown in the pious exhortations which he repeatedly addressed to them immediately before his death, agree with the lessons of piety so earnestly and affectionately addressed in this book to the "Anchoresses" of Tarrant.

Well! to this little village of Tarrant—and the monastery which he there refounded—the place of his birth—after all, his first love—the thoughts of Richard Poore reverted, as he saw his own life drawing to its close. He would now willingly forget Durham and all its massive glory, and Sarum with all its chastened loveliness, and say—"Let Thy servant turn back again, that I may die in my own city, and be buried by the grave of my father and of my mother." And so to his native village he went, there, in its longed-for retirement, to prepare him for the Master's call. Warned one day that the time was at hand when he must really leave the world, he assembled his attendants and the people, and spoke earnestly to them about heavenly things. On the morrow, when his illness increased upon him, he renewed his exhortations to them, asking forgiveness if he had offended any, and then bidding them all farewell. On the third day, he sent for his domestics and retainers, distributed gifts among them according to their deserts, and calmly settled all his worldly affairs. Then he took leave of his relatives and friends, one by one, and gave them each his blessing. The hour of Compline had arrived; the office was said in the chamber where lay the dying Bishop. He followed them as best he could through the first psalm till they came to the last verse—his lips softly murmured, "I will lay me down in peace and take my rest," when his gentle spirit fled. Those around chanted solemnly, yet hopefully, on—"For Thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety."

Bishop Richard Poore. As regards the monastery itself, Matthew Paris says (Chronica Majora, iii., 392), "illam dedit Reginæ, ubi sibi elegit sepulturam." Joan, daughter of King John and wife of Alexander King of the Scots, was buried there, and hence it was sometimes called "Locus benedictus reginæ super Tarente." It was also called, after its second founder, "Locus Ricardi Episcopi." See Hutchins' Dorset, i., 120.

Matthew Paris, who was his cotemporary, speaks of him as a man of "eminent sanctity, and profound knowledge."[1] It is for the former that we chiefly cherish his memory; well worthy is he to be enrolled among the saintly Bishops of the Church, with not a few of whom we have been blessed in this our favoured diocese of Sarum.

Leland, when he visited our cathedral in the year 1540, saw a tablet in the Lady Chapel with the following inscription:—[2]

"Ex Tabella in Sacello S. Mariæ.

"Orate pro anima RICARDI POURE quondam Sarum Episcopi qui Ecclesiam hanc inchoari fecit in quodam fundo ubi nunc fundata est ex antiquo nomine Miryfelde in honorem B. Virg. Mariæ 3 cal Maiiæ in festo S. Vitalis Martyris An° D. 1219 regnante tunc Rege Ricardo post conquestum primo. Fuitque Ecclesia hæc in ædificando per spatium xl. annorum temporibus trium regum, videlicet antidicti Ricardi, Joannis, et Henrici 3. et consummata 8 Cal. April. An° Dni 1260. Iste Ricardus Episcopus fundavit missam Beatæ Mariæ Virginis solemniter in hac capella quotidie celebrandam, et appropriavit rectoriam de Laverstoke ad sustentationem ejusdem missæ. Qui quidem Ricardus Episcopus postea translatus fuit ad episcopatum Dunelmensem; fundavitque monasterium apud Terraunt in Comit: Dorset: ubi natus, nomine Ricardus Poure; ibique cor ejus, corpus vero apud Dureham, humatum est. Et obiit 15 die April:—An° Dn̄i. mccxxxvii. xxi H 3."

It will be observed that the statement on the tablet is very explicit as to Bishop Richard Poore's body having been interred at Durham, whilst his heart was buried at Tarrant. It is natural enough for us at Sarum to wish that we also had a memorial of the good Bishop, and so, despite of evidence to the contrary, to bring ourselves into

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[1] "Vir eximiæ sanctitatis et profundæ scientiæ." Chronica Majora, iii., 391.

[2] Leland, Itinerary, iii., p. 92.

an actual belief that it is so.[1] But after all, have we not the greatest monument of all in our glorious cathedral, of which he was the undoubted founder, though it was not completed till some thirty years after his decease, and in which, ever since that memorable Sunday before S. Michael's Day, 1225, when he first dedicated his altars in the Lady Chapel, there has been offered almost without ceasing the daily sacrifice of prayer and praise.

Verses from the Crewe MSS. on the assumption of Knighthood, temp. James I.

Communicated by Sir George Duckett, Bart.

THE refusal on the part of many country gentlemen to take up the order of knighthood, both in the time of King James I., and afterwards in that of his son, preferring rather to be fined for declining to do so, was based often upon more solid reasons than would at first sight appear, for to men of good lineage and descent, the honor, if indeed it could be so called, was not only a very doubtful one, as the ensuing lines clearly shew, but exceedingly

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[1] The first person, as far as I know, who suggested Salisbury as the burial-place of Bishop Poore was Richardson, in his edition (1743) of Bishop Godwyn's "De Præsulibus Angliæ," but in this he absolutely *contradicts* the statement made by his author nearly one hundred and fifty years before; for the work was published first in 1601. The monument attributed to him, which has lately been replaced on the north side of the altar, I believe to be that of Bishop Bingham. This also was the opinion of Canon Bowles expressed more than forty years ago (History of Lacock Abbey, p. 370), and of Mr. Planché, in a paper (1859) on the "Sepulchral Effigies in Salisbury Cathedral." See British Archæol. Journal, xv., 119.

repugnant to those, for whom the days of chivalry or feudal aspirations could not be said to have entirely ceased.

At the time when Charles I., for the purpose of raising money, put in force the statute of Edward II., which obliged persons, who had the amount of £20 a year in fee, to take the said order of knighthood, the compositions or fines for not obeying the order were sufficiently numerous, especially those levied at the time in question, viz., of that King's coronations in the years 1630, 1631, and 1632.

The following contemporary lines are from the Cole MSS. (vol. xxi., fol. 206) in the British Museum, quoting the Crewe MS.:—

"*Verses upon the order for making Knights of such persons who held* 40^l *per an. in King James's time.*"

"Come all you Ffarmers out of the countrey,
Carters, plowmen, hedgers and all;
Leave of gestures rusticall,
Bidd all your home-spun parssetts adue,
And sute yourselves in fashions new:
Honour invites you to delights:
Come all to court, and be made knights.

"He that hath fortie pounds per annum,
Shalbe promoted from the plowe;
His wife shall take the wall of her gran'am,
Honour is sould soe dog-cheap now,
Though thou hast neither birth nor breeding,
If thou hast money, thou art sure of speeding.

"Knighthood in old time was counted an honour,
Which the best spiritts did not disdayne:
But now it is us'd in soe base a manner,
That it's noe credditt, but rather a staine.
Tush, it's no matter what people do say!
The name of a knight a whole village will sway.

"Sheapherds, leave singing your pastorall sonnetts,
And to learne complements shew your endeavours,
Cast of for ever your two-shillings bonnetts,
Cover your coxcombs with three-pounds beavers:
Sell carte and tarboxe new coaches to buy:
Then 'Good your Worship' the vulgar will cry.

"And thus unto 'Worshipp' being advanced,
Keape all your tenants in awe with your frownes,
And let your rents be yearly inhaunced,
To buy your new-moulded Maddams new gownes.
Joan, Sisse, and Nell, shalbe all ladified,
Instead of haycarts, in coaches shall ryde.

"Whatever you doe, have a care of expenxes:
In hospitality do not exceed,
Greatnes of followers belongeth to Princes,
A coachman and footman are all that you need:
And still observe this, let your servants meate lacke,
To keep brave apparell upon your wives backe.

"Now to conclude, and shute upp my sonnett:
Leave of your cartwhip, hedg-bill and flayle,
This is my counsell: think well upon it;
Knighthood and *Honour* are now put to saile,
Then quickly make haste, and lett out your ffarmes,
And I will hereafter emblazon your armes.

"MS. Crewe."

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Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought from last account	129	16	4
Dec. 31st.	,, Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from Members during the year....	198	19	6
	,, Ditto received for Sale of Magazines	48	15	4
	,, Ditto ditto for "Jackson's Aubrey"	6	5	0
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		£391	16	2

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1878.	DISBURSEMENTS.			£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.	By Cash, sundry Payments, including Postage. Carriage, &c.			10	6	8
	,, Ditto Printing and Stationery			13	3	3
	,, Printing and engraving, &c.. for Magazine, No. 51	47	7 0			
	,, Ditto ditto No. 52	56	12 1			
				103	19	1
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	,, Miscellaneous expenses at ditto	8	7 8			
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	,, Land and Property Tax	1	9 0			
				42	8	11
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	,, Commission, &c.			19	19	0
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16 ...	62	32 ...	88	49 ...	73
17 ...	65	33 ...	73	50 ...	51
18 ...	50	34 ...	85	51 ...	69
19 ...	62	35 ...	58	52 ...	69
20 ...	65	36 ...	73		

"Wiltshire Collections," Aubrey and Jackson	...	150
"Account of Blackmore Museum," Part I.	...	84
" " " " II.	...	57
"Stonehenge and its Barrows," (being No. 46-7 of the Mag., in special covers) ... 4to	...	21
" " " " 8vo	...	241

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Published under the Direction

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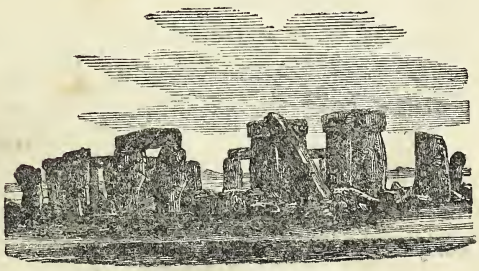

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THE

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Archæological and Natural History
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No. LIV. NOVEMBER, 1879. Vol. XVIII.

Contents.

PAGE

Longleat Papers No. 4 *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. 257

Consecration of Nuns at Ambresbury, A.D. 1327: By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. 286

On the Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury *(Continued)*: By the Rev. Arthur P. Morres, Vicar of Britford 289

A Sketch of the Parish of Yatesbury: By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A. (Rector) 319

Proposed Repeal of the Test and Penal Statutes by King James the Second, in 1688; His Questions touching the same, to the Deputy-Lieutenants and Magistrates in Wiltshire, with their Answers thereto: including Confidential Returns of the Parliamentary Interests at that period (from the Original State Papers and Documents in the Bodleian Library): By Sir George Duckett, Bart. 359

Original Letters from the Wiltshire Commissioners to Cromwell in 1655 (Extracted from the Original State Papers in the Bodleian Library): By Sir George Duckett, Bart. 374

Avebury.—The Beckhampton Avenue: By the Rev. Bryan King 377

Review of Books 384

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Yatesbury Church, from the south-west 319
Wards of a key, found in a barrow at Yatesbury 331
Blade of a hunting spear, found in a Barrow at Yatesbury 333
Font at Yatesbury 344
Section of the Font at Yatesbury 344

DEVIZES:
H. F. & E. Bull, 4, Saint John Street.

THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

Longleat Papers, No. 4.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. xviii., p. 48.*)*

28. A.D. 1548-76. SIR THOMAS SMITH, SECRETARY OF STATE TO EDWARD VI. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH, AND PROVOST OF ETON COLLEGE. HIS LETTERS TO SIR JOHN THYNNE, THE FOUNDER OF LONGLEAT.

29. „ 1573 (?). ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX.

1. SIR FULKE GREVILLE TO THE EARL, FOR HELP TO BE RESTORED TO THE QUEEN'S FAVOUR.
2. CHARLES CHESTER TO MR. MEYRICK, THE EARL'S STEWARD, FOR LEAVE TO WEAR HIS LORD'S CLOTH.
3. THE EARL TO THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND (SIR JOHN POPHAM), TO BIAS HIM IN THE DECISION OF A CAUSE DEPENDING BEFORE HIM.
4. ESTIMATE OF THE EARL'S EXPENSES IN THE QUEEN'S SERVICE. SIGNED BY SIR GELLY MEYRICK.

30. „ 1608, MAY. SAMUEL DANYEL, POET LAUREATE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. TWO LETTERS FROM HIM TO MR. JAMES KIRTON, STEWARD TO EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD.

31. „ 1636, April 12th. Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) to Bulstrode Whitelocke.

32. „ 1674-8. Antony A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. Letter from R. Ingram to William Ernely about an Assault upon the Earl by Lord Digby.

33. „ 1679. Guy Carleton, Bishop of Chichester. Two Letters from him to Secretary Coventry about the Reception of the Duke of Monmouth at Chichester, when he returned from abroad without the King's leave.

34. Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

„ 1686, June 22nd. Sir Winstone Churchill, Father of the First Duke, to Blue Mantle, about the History of his Family.

„ „ 1706, October 11th. The Duke of Marlborough to Robert Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford), threatening to break a Printer's bones.

35. „ 1708-9. Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, to Rt. Hon. Robert Harley, and another Friend. Four Letters.

XXVIII.—A.D. 1548-76. Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, and Provost of Eton.

[The life of this very eminent man was written by Strype, the ecclesiastical historian, to which some valuable additions have been recently made by Mr. J. G. Nichols, in the Archæologia, vol. xxxviii., p. 99. The letters here printed are a further contribution.

He was a distinguished scholar and linguist at Cambridge. Fuller (Church Hist., vol. ii., 254, 8vo), speaking of the pains taken by Henry VIII. to maintain learned youths in foreign courts, by selecting one or two yearly for that purpose, says that "Sir Thomas Smith was one of the last educated in this manner.

These young men proved afterwards the picklocks of the cabinet councils of foreign princes: no king having better intelligence than Henry from beyond seas."

Sir Thomas Smith was one of the personal staff of the Duke of Somerset when made Protector of England, in which situation he became the intimate friend of Sir John Thynne, the founder of Longleat. In a defence of himself, written to the Duchess of Somerset, he refers to Sir John Thynne as one familiar with his affairs and witness to the falsehood of certain charges that had been brought against him. (See Archæologia, above referred to, pp. 121, 122.) He was appointed Secretary of State, 14th April, 1548; dismissed, 10th October, 1549, sent to the Tower with Thynne, Stanhope, and other supporters of the Protector, fined and released. During Queen Mary's reign he lived in retirement. On Queen Elizabeth coming to the throne, he was employed on various great duties, and again made Secretary, 13th July, 1572. He died 12th August, 1577, in his 65th year. In the account of his family in "Burke's Baronetage" it is stated that "the Patriarch John," the father of Sir Thomas, spelled his name in the peculiar form of "Smijth." If this was so, Sir Thomas himself does not seem to have paid much attention to the "patriarchal" eccentricity, for—as shewn by his signature to all the following letters—he was content with the ordinary spelling of his name. Two of the letters at Longleat have their seals perfect, The arms are the same as those engraved beneath the portrait of Sir Thomas in Strype's Life, viz., a fess dancettée between three lioncels, quartering Charnock.

It was at Sir Thomas's house, in Canon Row, Westminster, that the learned men and divines met, on the accession of Elizabeth, to settle the reformation of religion. Sir Thomas appears to have had two houses in Canon Row: one, "a little house," let by him to Sir William Paget, the Comptroller, at 30*s.* a year. At Longleat is a copy of the lease to Sir Thomas of this house, which had been part of the possessions of the Abbey of Hulme, Co. Norfolk, united by King Henry VIII. to the see of Norwich. His other house, in which, probably, the divines met, was larger, and had

been bought by him from Sir Ralph Sadler (See Archæologia, xxxviii., 126).]

1. A.D. 1549, April 29th, Greenwich. Sir Thomas Smith to Sir John Thynne, about Sir William Sherington's Money.

[Sir William Sherington, the purchaser of Lacock Abbey at the Dissolution of Monasteries, got into great disgrace by frauds in the coinage (see "Wiltshire Collections," p. 91, *note* 1). He was sent to the Tower and attainted. He owed Sir John Thynne a large sum of money, which had not been paid. Sir John had applied to Sir Thomas Smith to use his influence with Protector Somerset to obtain payment. The following letter is Sir Thomas's answer. Thynne, however, did not succeed during the Protector's life, nor for some time after, for among the Longleat Papers there is a letter from Sir Henry Sherington, brother and heir to Sir William, written 11th May, 1555, upon this subject, from which it appears that there was £600 still unpaid, but Sir Henry was preparing to pay it, together with interest, as soon as he and Sir John Thynne could agree as to the items of an account between them.]

"Sir. I moved my Lord's grace in your mater for M^r. Sheryngtons monye His answer was that ye shuld not have it before th'end was taken for all other also. He said ye shuld not lose it, nor ye shuld not be helped alone. I was so bold as to replie and say that ye had wrong in forbering the use of it so long / the which beyng such a som might be som profit / I had the warraunt redy and presented it / but in no wyse I could get his grace to signe it / I will not leave it so / M^r. Honynge telled me it was his graces pleasure that my L. of Southampton and I shuld examyn M^r. Sharyntons detts / but I received yet no such commaundment. Yf that be done I see no cause whie your monie shuld lenger be staid

For your mater with M^r. Harman / I did not yet attempt. Nor I can not well tell how to do it / How be it if you will / I shall take a tyme, but I had rather furst have your money / Mr. Fulmerston telled me this daye that there was a cabyn for me and my wief now redy at Sion *: for soe he tearmed it. I thanked hym and said I thought no / because I had understod that the lodgynges there were few & the howse pestred [*i.e.*, encumbered] and that my ladie of Suffolk was there. He said she was gone. I answered that my wife had tarried with me now awhile at the court / and lerned well to play the courtier and mich better

* Sion House; which had been granted to Protector Somerset.

amendid then she was in London / so that I perceive it mych better for hir to be abrode, & trusted that she would shortlie be through hole [thoroughly whole] except her agew tornyd to some other good sicknes.

I can not tell whither he had commission to say so mych to me as he did / Yf my wief can do my Ladies grace eny service, she shall wait as hir dutie is.

Yf hir grace hath enough all redie, as I understand ther is, & my wief shuld be comberaunce, I had mych rather she tarrid still with me either here in the court, as me thynkes she had leifest be, or in London, or at Eaton,

This bearer Watson my man still is suter unto you I pray yow ones dispache hym and then he shall troble you & me no lenger / and ye shall do me great pleasure if ye can sped hym. Fare ye most hertely well. From Grenewich xxix^th^ Aprilis 1549.

"Yo^r allwais assured

"To myne assured freend Sir "T. Smith."
John Thyn Knight, Steward of the
Household to my lord Protector's grace."

Docketed: "xxix°. Aprilis 1549 M^r^. Secretary Smyth to my M^r^. from Grenewich."

2. 14th June, 1549, Richmond. The same to the same.

"Sir I am moved by this bearer William Kelb to be suter unto you for the office of the Custumership * now lately void by the death of one Eaton. He saith he will do as mych as an other will and requyreth this letter but onely to bryng hym to you bycause he hath no acquayntaunce all redy. Thus I bid you right hartely fare well. From Richemond the xiiij^th^ of June 1549.

"yor assuredly

"To the right worshipfull "T. Smith."
and myn assured Freend
Sr John Thyn Knight,
steward of Household to my
Lord Protectors grace."

Docketed: "xiiij° Junii 1549 M^r^. Secretary Smyth to my M^r^."

3. June, 1567, London.

[This letter supplies the date of Sir Thomas's return from his second embassy to France, for which his biographers have been at a loss (Archæol. xxxviii., 111). What the domestic affliction was on which he condoles with Sir John Thynne does not appear. It could not have been Sir John's first wife, for she had died in May, 1565, and he had married again in 1566.]

"Sir I am right sory for your mischaunce wherof I harde for my furst newse comyng out of Fraunce of a servaunt of yours dwellyng at Graveseand / But ye have knowen I trust so much of Christ that ye can take his visitacion and profe

* The Customs used to be let on lease to individuals who were called "Farmers:" and a very profitable species of culture they found it.

of your pacience paciently And ye are to wise to make of one losse, two. God hath given, God hath taken away. This I am suer is your comfort for all worldly and transitory thyngs, which if they go not away from us whiles we live we shall go from them when we die.

"Here is a proper young man of the Middle Temple of myne acquaintaunce who is desirous to be toward you as your Sollicitor here in the Lawe. I suppose he be not unknowen to you / For ye have of his nere Kynsmen about you. If your sollicitor (who now is welthy and therefore as it is thought will seke his ease), do forsake the travaile & office, he doth offer unto you his service. And thynketh the rather at my comendacion to be accepted unto it. His name is Ninian Burbage. What he can do in the lawe & in that service your sollicitor can tell, to whose judgement I thynk you will stand, or els to your owne profe. I have great hope that his diligence shall please you. Thus I bid you most hartely fare well. From London the xijth of June 1567.

"Yo^{r}. assured Freende
"T. Smith."

"To the right worshipfull and
my assured Freend Sir John
Thyn Knight."

Docketed: "Sir Thomas Smyth. xij^{o}. Junii, 1567."

4. 19th July, 1572, Havering. The Same to the Same.

[Sir Thomas Smith founded a colony on the coast of Ulster, in a district called "The Ardes" (now "Newton Ards"), by which he lost a great deal of money: see Strype's Life, p. 131. This letter was written on his departure for Ireland.]

"Sir John Thinne I have ben despached from Court the xvith of this present moneth. I meane I have receaved her Maj^{es} letres to the L. Deputy for his direction and for my comendacion unto him. I tarry now but my L^{ds} of Leycester Sussex and Burley's private letres to the sayd deputy which I am to receave this day being already written. And so the xxijth of this moneth from London to take my Jorney to Lyverpoole there presently to imbarke. There I look for your two horsmen to meet me as ye promised me at your owne howse therin.* If they be with me at Lyverpoole the last of this moneth it shall be well and soone enough / This I pray you do / At the least that the men be there furnished / And if they cannot bring the money which willingly as very needfull I wold faine have also Let them bring with them a bill of your hand for the same to be payd at London so sone as conveniently ye can. Hereof I look for an answer by this bearer who commeth to meet me agayn at Lyppoole. In the meane while with my harty comendacions to my good Lady your bedfellow I committe the rest of our matter for the assistauntshippe to my father, and you to Almighty God who graunt you helth and long lief and to me good succes.

"From Havering this xixth of July 1572

"yor. assuredly to my small power
"Tho. Smith"

Docketed: "S^{r}. Thomas Smyth. xix of July 1572."

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* Sir Thomas's friends supplied him with horse-soldiers and others, to join in the adventure.

5. September 18th, 1574, Oatlands. The Same to the Same. The Queen much pleased with a Great Jewel given to her by Sir John Thynne.

[This and the letter next after it illustrate Strype's statement (Life p. 130) that Queen Elizabeth about this time (1574) became very irresolute and would not be spoken to on matters of business: answering sometimes "So," and sometimes "No;" forbidding even Dudley and Hatton to move suits to her. "And if they were forbidden, then," said Sir Thomas, "had we need within a while to have a horse or an ass to carry bills after us, increasing daily and never despatched."]

"S[r] You may be assured I have not forgotten you but as sone as I could get convenyent tyme I moved hir highnes in your mater / Who gave me very good words of you, estemyng miche your good chere and specially the great Jewel you gave hir, saieng, that for goeng but V miles she had such a gift of you as never an Earle in England had given hir the like.* / I shewed your good affection & good will which you have borne to hir ma[tie] at all tymes / as well in adversite as prosperite. Which hir highnes did affirme. Now for your sute. Furst she axed if you wuld not be content that she should be your neighbor as well as another? I [said] that yt lay in the myds of your lands, & for you, you had all redy the lease but you requyred to leave your son in quietnes, who, who so ever should either purchase it or have it in lease, might if he were froward work mich troble unto. In th'end she said, in hir progres she wold be trobled with no sewtes. When she came to Hampton Courte or a standing house I might move it agayn. This answer I shewed streight to my L. of Hertford & to my L. Henry I knowe not whether they have certified it to you or no. / Fare ye well. From Otelande the of Sept. 1574

"youre old freend
"T. Smith."

"To the right worshipfull
my verie loving frend
Sir John Thynne Knight"

Docketed: "S[r]. Thomas Smyth xviii[th] Sept. 1574."

Sir Thomas had not marked the day of the month in the letter itself.

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* Queen Elizabeth made a "Progress" into the West of England in August, 1574. She was at Bath, 22nd August, being Sunday. On Monday, 23rd, to Lacock Abbey until the 28th. Thence to Stoke (Earl-Stoke). Thence, on the 31st, to Heytesbury, from which house she probably went the "V miles" to Longleat for which she was so handsomely rewarded. Besides the "good cheer," she received from Sir John Thynne "A Jewell called a Phenix, set with one great emeralde, fifty other dyamonds and Rubies, with an appendant Perll at the same which my Master gave to Her Majesty being at Longleat 2d. Sept. 1574; bought of Henrie Pope of London for £140."

(Old Account Book at Longleat.)

6. 4th November, 1574, Hampton Court. The Same to the Same. The Queen unwilling to part with some Land wanted by Sir John Thynne.

"S^r. I have received your letter of the xxx^th October. Without your letter I wold have remembred you, but I had no access to the Q. Matie for eny sutes sithens the Progres but yesterday, so loth is hir highness to give such audience / When I moved it, She was still in the same answer, 'Whie should not you be contente that she might have som lands emongs yours?' I said the mater was not great, xx marks or xx li by yere / And you offrid to pay for it as mich as it was worth and rather more / bicause you wold leave your son in quietnes with that which he had. Hir Matie replied & still concludid that she wold sell no lande. Then cam I to the second degree, that you might have it in fee ferme / To that she semed more enclineable but streight went from it when I should conclude, and said she wold talk with my L. Treasurer / And she saw no cause whi hir lands might not lie emongs yours This is the somme of all that I cowld get yesterday. And yet I was earnest with diverst reasons which is superfluous to write, seying it had no better conclusion. Thus I bid you most hartely fare well with my like comendacions to my lady. I send you our last occurrents & had sent you oftener, but comonly your messangers after they have delivered your letres I never se thens. From Hampton Cowrte the iiij^th of No. 1574.

"Yo^r. old Freende
"T. Smith."

"To the right worshipfull
my loving freend, S^r
John Thynne knight."

Seal: Smith *and* Charnock *quarterly (as engraved below the portrait of Sir Thomas in Strype's Life of him, 8vo, Oxford,* 1820.*)*

Docketed: "Sir Thomas Smyth iiij^th of Nov. 1574."

7. 13th July, 1575, Kenilworth. The Same to the Same.

[The Queen still stubborn in refusing the land. Sir Thomas enquires very particularly and for a special reason, the exact date of the christening of his godson, Sir John's eldest son.]

"Youre lettre of the vij^th of July I received this day and the certificat / Such occurrents as be here I send you also / Une thyng I can say more to you / I moved the Quene's Matie at Tibalds for the fee ferme or buying of that which you wold have but I cowld obteyne neither. / A lease in reversion at the last hir Matie was content to grant to you. I required xl or xxx yeres. She wold grant but xxj & with that she seamed contented & pleased. Yf she do not forget it now at Michaelmas when I trust you will send it me faier written to get it signed / For it is not to be refused eny thyng that a Prynce will give. These certificats be to take a new order how penall lawes should be better executed & not by such grawntes as be all redy made to certayne gentilmen nor by premonire but by an other ordinary way as shortly you shall know. I wold gladly know if my godson be maried or toward a wief & whom I wish therin good luck. But you

must nedes send me in your next letres the day, if you can, if no the weke & yere in which he was christened & when I was there. For it will stand me I trust in more sted then you wold thynk. & I am suer you have marked it. I pray you do not forget it. Fare ye well. From Kenelworth the xiijth of July 1575.

"Your assured Freend
"T. Smith."

"To the right worshipfull
my loving freend S^{r}
John Thyn Knight."

Docketed: "Sr Tho. Smithe xiijth of July 1575."

8. 18th August, 1575, Worcester. The Same to the Same.

[Having obtained the exact age of Sir John Thynne's son, Sir Thomas hopes to detect some gross trick that had been played him in a transaction in which the young man's age had been misrepresented.]

"S^{r} you cowld not have done me a greater pleasure then to have sent me the day of the nativitie & christenyng of my godson Mr. John Thyn / I assuer you I thynk to discover by it as notable a forgery as hath bene committed many a day & to the troble of a good nomber of gentlemen / Thus God bryngeth to light with tyme & enquirie, the trouthe / and discovereth falshod that it may apere in his [*i.e., its*] own likenes, which is fowle and shamfull. This forgery hath been hidden & lurked these xx yeres at the lest as this wold prewve & iij or iiij yere before my godson was borne / Although it toucheth nothyng neither you nor your son, yet in knowing that tyme I can discover it. For the same time either comyng to you or from you I christened an other child whose nativite will make the forgery playne, either to be all together forged or shamfully antedated if ever eny such thing was. And emongs other yt towcheth me somewhat nere, who by no meanes can make myne adversarie to answer, whether it be true or forged. Which if he ones do I requier no more for the lease, I did but as dewty of friendship wold, not so mich as I wold, but as in this world (that is so hard) I can / You shall do well to send me the lease so made as you write / I will do what I can to get you mo yeres, yf no, as I can / I accompt nothyng done nor had untill you have hir Maties hand to it. Fare you most hartely well & I pray you do my comendacions to my Lady. And I would wish my godson married as sone as convenyently you cowld both for avoidyng Inconveniences and that you might se some posteritie & issue from hym to your honour & worship. From Worcester the xviiith of August 1575

"Yo^{r}. assured old freende
"T. Smith."

"To the right worshipfull
my loving freend S^{r}
John Thynne Knight"

Seal: same as before.

Docketed: "S^{r}. Th^{o}. Smithe the 18 of Aug. 1575"

9. 14th April, 1576, Canon Row. The Same to the Same. Sir Thomas's health beginning to fail.

"S^r. I thank you for the paynes taken with yong Mr Barkeley about that mater whereof he was the furst mowver [*mover*] but as it apereth you gessed right. Yt was but a yong mans talk. I have hard no more of it sithens. This berer Morice Browne my servant & Kynsman hath a mater to do in that contrey wherin he must requier your aide & help. I pray you shew hym the favour that you convenyentley may. The matters of France & Flandres stand in the same uncertayntie as you left them. Nother peax nor war nor good agreament, not one trusting there an other. Fare ye well. From Chanon Row whither I am now com to consult with phisicions whom I fyend as uncertayne what to do, as I whom to folow. I pray you to commend me to my lady & my godson. 14 Ap. 1576.

"y^r. old assured freend
"T. Smith."

"To the right Worshipfull
my lovinge freend
S^r. John Thynne Knight."

Docketed: "S^r. Thomas Smyth xiiij^o Aprilis 1576"

10. 31st May, 1576, Monthaule (Hill House, Essex). The Same to the Same.

[Strype (Life, p. 146) mentions, at some length, the distemper that was fatal to Sir Thomas Smith, "a rheum that fastened itself in his throat and tongue. The physicians having exhausted their experiments and only increased his discomfort, at last all agreed in advising him to give up medicaments, and apply himself to 'Kitchen physic,' giving him leave to eat and drink what he would."]

"Sir I thank you for your letre of the VIth of this moneth which cam to me the last of the same save one / For my helth I fyend small amendement but sith the phisicions gave me over, and I to take my self to myne owne diet & phisick I have a little recovered my self, whom they left, without flesh, without strength, without appetite to meat or drynk, in so weak a case as eny man might almost be. For the rest I thank god I fyend my bodie in reasonable good takyng now without fever or other distrest. My speache is as evill as ever it was, for the which to recover the phisicions had so tormented my bodie & brought it so weak but all in vayne. For as it appeareth to me now by readynge of old authors, yt is a mater to be done with cuer of the hand of a surgean & to be cut away, that doth let my speache. Wherof neither phisicion nor surgean in England that I yet know can eny skill. Now I am about it, & have brought som of them to be of myne opinion, and do hope yet to brynge it to pas. Where you speak of diet, I never yet had cawse to fyend fault with my diet nor now have. For he that is lxiij yeres old & can not tell better then eny phisicion what meate drynke or

other diet is most fit for his bodie must confesse hym self a negligent & careless foole & to have lived to long. As I must confes my self a very foole that I yelded so miche to the phisicions, who in a short space whiles I yelded my self to them and their diet brought me in that case that neither I had flesh or strength nor could eate or drynk to get it me agayne. The same Nature and tyme that make us old doth teche us also for the tyme by our owne experience, what meate drynck or exercise is most fit for us and doth best agrea with our bodie more playnly & truly then eny phisicion can, who doth not feale nor se what is within us but by blind gesses. Fare you most hartely well with comendacions to my good Ladie.

"From Monthaule the last of Maii. 1576.

"Yor. assured old freind

"T. Smith."

"Your son my godson I thank hym cam to se me & brought me your letre by whom I writ this."

"To the right worshipfull
my loving freend Sr
John Thynne Knight"

Seal: as before.

Docketed, in the handwriting of the first Lord Weymouth: "Sr. Thos. Smith. ultimo Maii 1576. about his owne health"

11. 18th September, 1576, Bath. The Same to the Same. Appears to be an apology for not being able to visit Longleat.

[According to Strype (p. 150, note) "Sir Thomas, in July, 1576, intended to go to The Baths in Somersetshire; but instead of there, he went to Buxton's Well which was more in vogue in those times." From this letter, however, it is clear that he did try the Bath waters.]

"Sir I most hartely thank you for your so good remembrances of wield fowle & partriches which you sent now by your servaunt to heape up still your other frendly kyendnes upon me but this I must entreate you, to be content that at this tyme I mak as mich hast to go streight home as I can, as my wief did. I fyend no manner of ease here by eny of the bathes. For now I am removed & at Mr. Mayor's to trie his & the hoter bath, but I se they be all alike to me / they bryng greate weakeness, want of sleape, & no ease at all to eny part of my grief And so is also now D. Turner's * opinion, that I should go home & recover

* Dr. William Turner: a compound of Physic and Divinity: being M.D., Physician to the Duke of Somerset, Prebendary of York, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Wells, an enthusiastic Church reformer and parent of many controversial treatises. He was also author of "The Herbal," and the first who printed any account of the Bath waters. "Materia medica" seems to have been not very well understood in those days: for Turner says that when he was a student of plants at Cambridge, "he could learn never one Greek neither Latin nor English name, even among the physicians, of any herb or tree; such was the ignorance of those times."

strength, rather to com agayn at the Spryng, then now to tarie the slow workyng of them. And therfor with my harty comendacions to my good ladye & to my godson I take my leave of you with infinite thanks, & commit you to God. From Bathe the xviijth of Septemb. 1576.

"your old assured
"freende
"T. SMITH."

"To the right worshipfull
my loving frend S^{r}
John Thynne Knight"

Docketed: "S^{r}. Thomas Smyth 18 Sept. 1576."

XXIX.—*c.* 1573. ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX.

1. SIR FULKE GREVILLE TO THE EARL FOR HELP TO BE RESTORED TO THE QUEEN'S FAVOUR.

[This letter is undated, but it was probably written by Sir Fulke Greville, the third of that name, afterwards created Lord Brooke, who met with a violent death, being stabbed by his own servant at Brooke House, Holborn, in 1627. In early life [1] he was very eager to distinguish himself in foreign enterprize, but not being able to obtain the Queen's leave, went abroad without it; for which on his return he "was made to live in her court a spectacle of dishonour, too long, as he conceived." As he advanced in years he became less ambitious, "finding it sufficient for the plant to grow where the Sovereign's hand had planted it." That hand having planted him at Warwick Castle, it may be considered that Sir Fulke deserves no particular praise for having so soon "learned to be content."]

"Right honorable & my very good Lord, whyle I am absent I feare ether to be forgotten or misconstrd, for princes must not looke into ther own princely minds or fortunes to Judge the passions wherein private men languishe, kings being not able to be so little as they must be, that can see or feele want. My Lord all this whyle I accuse no body, but myselfe, for her maiesty hathe bene all I have to me, & more then I can deserve / yet noble Lord because princes graces, be the only merits of subjectes let me presume to tell you I fly very near the water so as the wings of my fortune grow wett and heavy, yeat yf I leave looking of the star I fall into the ditche, soe my tyme that is gone hath carried all other hopes and thoughts a way with it /

"Noble lord by a better mouthe then yours she cannot hear of my estate, it will at the least excuse my absens, & make her see that I have done lyke them that fale into deepe waters, catched hold of thorns & briers to kepe me in her service, when she sees her tyme she can retreve me or do something with me that

[1] See Collins's Peerage. "Greville Lord Brooke."

may please her. She hath promysed and he is to blame that doubts eyther her word or her nature.

"God prosper her & your Lordship in her favor. / From solytary Broxeborne* this tewsday.

"yor. Lordships poore cosen

"To the right honora ble Earle of Essex." "Foulk Grevill"

2. *c.* 1593. Charles Chester to Mr. (Gelly) Meyrick,[1] Steward to the Earl of Essex.

"M^{r}. Merik. In few wurds of great wayte I protest without dissimulation to [be] bound to you all dayes of my liff, & in lew thearof to deliver you a C£ if you will procuer me my lordes cloth,† whome I have loved from his infancy. I will till death honor him, & esteem his h. cloth more than Aiax or Ulisses did Akilles armor, or more then Hercules the lions skin he wore, and more reverently use yt then Cumberland ‡ will esteem his robes of parliment wh. is the rudest Earle by reson of his northerly bringen up & great societe ever syns the first race at Salsburi § and amunckst mariners that he hath gotten thear good wills, as he thincketh to make him admirall on[e] day wh. may be never. It was thought x years agon that you should never have fortune or Audacite, to do me good or any that could scarse speak, but now contrary to that prownd scornfull opinion, do me good, for God I se by you doth exalt only the humbell & meek, & let me prayse

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* In Hertfordshire.

[1] Sir Gelly Meyrick, the Earl's Steward, joined with him in his rebellion, was tried, condemned and executed at Tyburn in 1601. Cuffe, one of his companions, hanged at the same time, had been making a long speech. Sir Gelly, "with a soul undaunted, as if he were weary of his life, interrupted him once or twice, wishing him to spare his wise discourse which was altogether unreasonable now that he was ready to die." (Camden's Elizabeth, p. 628.)

† "To wear his cloth," *i.e.*, to become a retainer in his service. In former times noblemen gave clothes, a cloak, &c., not only to their servants or followers, but to others not of their family, to engage them to their quarrels for that year. This was prohibited in the time of Richard II. In 1585 some land at Warminster was held on lease by one John Hyde, under Sir Walter Hungerford; and at the back of the lease it was recorded "That the said John Hyde shall during his life serve the said Sir Walter & wear his livery, so the said Sir Walter will bestow his cloth upon him, and also ride with the said Sir Walter upon reasonable warning and to make his lyvery himself or at his own charges."

‡ George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, a great mathematician, had so decided a passion for navigation that he undertook at his own expense several voyages for the public service; but that, and a passion for tournaments, horse-racing, &c., made such inroads upon his fortune, that he is said to have wasted more of his estate than any of his ancestors. K.G., 1592. Died, 1605, æt. 47. See an account of him in Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 270.

§ The Earl of Cumberland's victory at Salisbury races is thus noticed in Hatcher and Benson's Hist. of S., p. 294: "The following memorandum is perhaps among the earliest notices of a sport, now become in a manner national.

'1585. These two years, in March, there was a race run with horses at the furthest three miles from Sarum, at the which were divers noble personages, whose names are underwritten, and *the Earl of Cumberland* won the golden bell which was valued at £50, and better, which Earl is to bring the same again, next year, which he promised to do, upon his honour, to the Mayor of this city.'"

God by his benefits & wunders shewed to you as to speak to my Lord & get me my liberte to wear his honors cloth & then I shall be a free captive from my enemies & all those that hate me : & my soule will be joyfull & submissive all wayes to love you, & those that bodely & ghostly love my lord, & then God damne those that doe not. This Wensday last by yowr poore & honest contriman CHARELS CHESTER.

"Yf you dispayer to get me my lord's cloth procuer this as my last suet & intreat to his honor that I may be in London tyll the Queen cummeth & for that I shall be bound to you. I pray you let me be behoulding to you for this or nothyng.

"Sir John Winfeeld will help you in eny thing he can with my lord I knowe, & take him to be the truest honorabelest knight in this land. I am wunderfully bound to him.

"To the wurshipfull & his loving
cuntreman Mr Merik cheefst
attendant to the right honorable
Earll of Essex at Lester house."

3. 1594. THE EARL TO THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND (SIR JOHN POPHAM) TO BIAS HIM IN THE DECISION OF A CAUSE DEPENDING BEFORE HIM.

"My Lord. I trust y^{r} Lp will the rather hold me excused for this importunitie bycawse it is to satisfie the desire of my neere Kynesman & very good frend Sir Thomas Knyvett of Norfolk whose rightfull cawses I woolde gladlie further towards y^{r}. Lp. befor whome there is a matter depending betwene one Booty & Brewster w^{h} doth gretly consarne hym, tending as I am informed to the overthrowe of the auncient customes & royalties of all his Manners in those pts I doe commend the equitie of this cause to y^{r} Lp. good consideration, prayinge yow for my sake to have speciall care thereof, & that his lerned counsaile may be fully harde, w^{h} I doubte not will satisfie y^{r} Lp. uppon any difficultie to be made therein And what favor it shall please yow in this or any other his lawfull cawses to afforde hym I will most thankfully acknowledge towards y^{r} Lp. by the best offices I can / So I committ yow to Gods best protection / From London this 29 of January 1594

"Y^{r}. Lp^{s}. very assured frende
"ESSEX."

Addressed :
"To my honorable good frend
the L. Chiefe Justice of
England."

Docketed :
"L^{d}. Essex's Letter to the L^{d}
Chief Justice, to bias him
in the Decision of a cause
depending before him,
29 Jany. 1594"

4. An Estimate of the Earl of Essex's Expenses in Queen Elizabeth's Service: made out by Sir Gelly Meyrick, his Steward (by whom the Original at Longleat is signed).

	£
"Parsonages impropryatt iij^{cli} in feefearme made clere	8500
Glybe lands 100^{l} in fee simple more in feafearme 100 soe in the hole £300 by yeare	12000
The exchaunge of Bisshopes lands was 400^{l} by yeare . .	8000
Then out of the Eschequer 50^{l} by yeare	..
The swet wines 2½ years	..

	£
Spent in her ma$^{tie's}$ service; I may well saye soe for the inabeling of his Lp. to doe her ma$^{tie's}$ service	
Fyrste, his Journey into the lowe contreys cost his lp. att the leste	4000
Next, her Matie being plesyd to comand my L. attendance att courtt afore he had any sh.* his Lo. spentt over & above his revenue	5000
Then, the spaniards beinge on the coste his Lp^{s} preparation for that service was	3500
Then, my L. Jorney to Portingale, coste him one waye or other att leaste	7000
The intertaynment of the Vydam † and the french one moneth att Yorke House, the french geven to understand that her Matie would paye for it, it cam toe besydes pryvatte gyftes .	2200
The French Journey cost my L. above 14000$^{£}$, owt of his own purse besyde his frynds & followers: as shall appear by the partycular recconinges	14000
Since my L. of Lester dyed [1588] it hath coste my L. 400$^{£}$ or 500. by yeare att leaste intertayninge of strangers.	
My L. gyftes to pore soldyers & men thatt had noe means and were owt off intertainment. It is & hath bynne more then I will stett [state]; & shure I am it hath bynne for her Ma$^{tie's}$ honor thatt pore men myght have relife.	

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* The word is indistinct. The sense would seem to imply some official salary. It occurs a second time in this paper.

† "Vydam." The Vidâme (French, from the Latin Vice-dominus) of Chartres, John de Ferriers Governor of Havre (then called New-Haven) was one of the chief noblemen who favoured the Protestants and the surrender of Havre to the English. Of his narrow escape at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew there is an account in Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker II., 125. There is a portrait of the Vidame at Longleat. A Vidame, or Vice-dominus, exercised delegate jurisdiction under a bishop, as Vice-comes did under a duke or count, and took his denomination from the bishoprick, as at Rheims, Amiens, Chartres, and the like." (Selden's Titles of Honour, part II., p. 334.)

I hope it is not doubtyd of butt thatt my L. hath byne att charge with intelygence. Thatt is a matter of secrett and therefore I can make noe estymatt, but leave it.

For Jewells geven to her Matie as new year's gyftes and att other tymes not fittinge to be sett down butt as a matter of charge to my L. / And his own Jewels wch he bought, the whole coste him att leaste £11000, soe I countt thatt one expence, and ytt is a reason how my L. hath spentt his ..... & his land soe } 11000

Then his Lp^s^. platt [plate] coste 1200 1200

My L. diett att courtt his apparell, his men's wages & his playing, with his extraordynarie charges, in spendynge: butt as a man of his place, I hope can nott be lesse estemed then between £4000 & 5000 which for this 7 years comes toe . . . } 30000

His Lp^s^. revenue is aboute £2500 during his mothers life his greatt aunts his unkell and other annuyties, soe thatt his revenue in vij years is } £ 15000 soe my L hath sold of his own annuytye & land £400 by yeare } wh. was sold for £15000

The rest my L: oweth of his expence."

XXX.—Two Letters from Samuel Danyel, Poet Laureate, temp. Elizabeth, to Mr. James Kirton, Steward to the Earl of Hertford.

[The next letter seems to supply an entirely new fact in the life of Samuel Danyel, historian, and—after Spenser—Poet Laureate: namely, that in 1608 he was acting as farm-bailiff to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, grandson of Protector Somerset, at South Wraxhall, near Bradford-on-Avon. Monkton Farley Priory had been granted to the Protector, and part of its land lay in South Wraxhall. It is doubtful whether S. Danyel was a native of Somerset or of Wilts. He was born about 1562, one authority says near Taunton, another, near Beckington, a third, "at Wilmington in Wilts near the plain of Salisburie." There is no such place in Co. Wilts: and if *K*ilmington on the border of the two counties, near Frome, is meant, the register of that parish goes no farther back than 1580. There is a small place called Wilmington, in Priston parish, in Co. Som., about five miles from Bath.

S. Danyel's history, in brief, is that he was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, was domesticated in the family of the Earl of Pembroke, was afterwards tutor to Lady Anne Clifford (daughter of

George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland), afterwards the celebrated Countess dowager of Dorset Pembroke and Montgomery (about whom see Whitaker's Craven, p. 313). Danyel was patronized at Court and became Groom of the Privy Chamber to Queen Anne of Denmark, for whom he wrote masques. His principal poem was on the Civil Wars of the Roses. He also wrote a History of England to the end of the reign of King Edward IV. Of his poetry Michael Drayton says :—

> "His Rimes were smooth, his metres well did close,
> But yet his matter better fitted—prose."

Towards the latter part of his life he retired to a small property, probably at Ridge, near Beckington, where he died in October, 1619. In Beckington Church is a tablet to his memory, placed by Lady Anne Clifford, an exact copy of which is given in "Selections from his works by J. Morris, Bath, 1855." A memoir of him was published in the "Bath and Bristol Magazine, 1833."

The words (which we have marked by *italics*) seem to intimate that he was at this time busy writing his poetical history, and that stooping from so sublime an occupation to such vulgar matters as the squabbles of tenants, the selling of hay, the price of pigeons, &c., was a disturbance to his elevated thoughts, and that he found the employment not altogether to his taste. This complaint, and the "longing to hear about the receipt of his pay," make it likely that some financial pressure had driven him to accept the situation.]

1. 1608, May 20th.

"Charissim° patron' mio. I mervayle I cannot heare one worde from you whether you live or what you doo in yor world w^{h} is a world I know of busynes and misery. I sent to your Brother concerning Wraxhall and inclusively to yor self a very volume of a le'r, w^{h} methinks might require the answere of a lyne in all this tyme, that we yor pore Baylifs have expected yor directions so long, as we are now at a stand. Keeping comes to me wth a complaynt that Maltman seeing he went from his bargayne w^{h} he held before, cavells with Moxham* for an half Acre of land w^{h} he claymes uppon exchange wth Billingley, enters uppon the same & disquiets the man. I wrote unto him to forbeare to molest his

*In a MS. List of Wilts Freeholders of A.D. 1660 at Longleat occur the names of "Thomas Maltman of South Wraxhall," and "Christopher Moxam of Leigh [Bradford]."

neighbo^{r} till we might heare from you, who yf he had right you would redress him, yf he did wrong you would not take it. The Hay would not be sold at any rate reasonable, so it remaynes: Keeping w^{d} know yor pleasure whether he should sell the 7 acres in the comon meade, whilst men would give money for it, w^{h} hereafter, being provided, they will not. Four marks they offer. The farme is charged with 2^{d}. a week more then it was before; w^{h}. he desyres to know whether he shall codiscend to pay. My self have had 3 dozayn & 9 pigions for w^{h} I owe you. *Thus I am fayne to discend in my particulars that in my generall account do somme & cast up the busyneses of princes & convers dayly in my quiet wth the best of the earth:* * and so tell yor witty, worthy, and happily compos'd wife from mee: &—look over the leafe.

"And write unto mee whether you will accept of my offer according as I wrote unto yor brother in my le'rs of the 9 of Aprill or els forgive mee the eating of so many pigions, & I have donne, saving onely to wish it well. I long to know of the receipt of my pay, and what you heare out of Kent & that poor side of ye world w^{h} in my account now is out of Christendome, or els I am turnd renegado. A word or two from your hand will much comfort my hart, wh^{h}. shall ever be firme, and faythfull unto you my worthy frend whilst I live

20 May. "Samuel Danyel"

"To my worthy frend Mr James
Kirton at Pye Corner."

Endorsed: "Mr Danyell the Poet
20 of Maye 1608."

Seal: a pale wavy between 8 *cinquefoils. On the pale a crescent.*

2. 1608, May 31st.

"Good Mr James Kirton. being come to towne wth as much speed as I could possibly make, uppon my Lords pleasure signified unto me by Mr. Hamon's lr'e, I doo here attend my directions wherein I shalbe used, wthout w^{h} of my self I will not adventure to doo anything, but onely revive myne owne desyre, and understand as far as I can gather the disposition of the Ladies, w^{h} I have donne in as ample manner, & wth as good oportunitie as I could wish, my coming being exceeding welcome to them both. This wholle day I have there spent till 5, & I much desyre to relate the substance of what I gather by conference Wherein I am satisfyed of many thinges I doubted. To come to Chanon Row,† in respect of myne owne particular I am very unwilling, & to be often seene in ye cittie at

* Readers of Juvenal will be reminded of—

"Magnæ mentis opus, nec de lodice paranda
Attonitæ, currus et equos faciesque Deorum
Adspicere, et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys."
(*Juvenal, Sat.* vii. 66.)

"O! t'is the exclusive business of a breast
Impetuous, uncontroull'd—not one distrest
With household cares, to view the bright abodes,
The steeds, the chariots, and the forms of gods:
And the fierce Fury, as her snakes she shook,
And wither'd the Rutulian with a look!"
(*Gifford's translation.*)

† Canon Row, near Westminster Bridge, where the Earl of Hertford and Sir John Thynne had town-houses.

this tyme of some I would not see, might much prejudice mee: for w^h^ cause I ly private in a garden howse of Mr. Watersonnes, & do intimate this unto you being the neerest unto my lodging, desyring you to impart so much & to comend my humble service to my most honorable good Lord. I have, though much against my will at this tyme made two journies to the Temple where I was in hope to have met your brother Josias, but did not. I would we might once all agayne meet together conveniently, to consider thorowly of this good worke, w^h^ were grete pittie being so worthy & honorable for all parties, should now fall to the ground for want of a little furtherance to hold it up & set it forward agayne. My L. is truly noble and wise *et sapiens scit quid velit, et quod semel voluit velle non desinit.* I shall thinke this as meritorious a deed for mee yf it succeed as pore Peeter the Hermit did to combine in amitie all the Christian princes together and I would most gladly imploy all my best powrs in it. So expecting to hear from Chanon Rowe by any word or writing I rest

"Yo^r^ assured faithfull frend

"This Sunday night" "Sam. DANYEL"

"To my assured good frend
Mr James Kirton at
Py Corner."

Endorsed by Mr. Kirton: "M^r^. Danyell the Poet
the last of May 1608"

Seal: same as last.

XXXI.—1636, 12TH APRIL. EDWARD HYDE (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON) TO BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

"My good Frende.

"I meant not you should have had the advantage of calling on me first, and I must excuse myselfe not only to you but to your honest waterman, whome I promised the last weeke a letter to you: but the truth is I was in the disorder of my remoove to my new chambre and forgott it, for which I beate my boy, whome I commaunded to remember me. Since Thursday I have obey'd the Dr. in my chamber, who hath eased me of a full pound of my bloode, so that I looke like a pale gyrle, newly recover'd of the greene sicknesse. Our best Newes is, that wee have good wyne abundantly come over, and the worst, that the Plague is in Towne, and no Judges dye, the old absurd Baron out of meere frowardnesse resolvinge to live. For your Bishops I know no new addic̄on, the one beinge longe since Deane of the Chappell, the other not mencion'd for any preferment.

"I must give you both many thankes for my very free and hearty entertainment, and desyre you to believe no man prayes more for you, (and my wife joynes with me) nor is more at your disposall than

"S^r^ your moste affectionate

"Westm. this "Humble Serv
12 of Aprill "EDW. HYDE."
To my most Honor'd Frende
Bulstrode Whitlocke Esq
at his house at Fawley Courte
these."

Endorsed: "Ned Hyde"

XXXII.—(1675, August 29th.[1]) Anthony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury. Letter from R. Ingram to William Erneley, about an Assault upon the Earl by Lord Digby. A Shaftesbury Election Quarrel.

"Dounton. Sunday morning

"Deare Billy.

"On Friday last I dyned with Mr. John Tregunnell* wheare I mett my Ld Digby, S^r^. Nathanyll Napper,† and severall other Countery Gent. After wee had dyned, came ye Earle of Shasbury, his sonne ye Ld Ashly with severall other Gent. in his company. Nowe you must knowe this Ld Digby stands for Knight of the shire in ye place of one Coll. Stranguidge ; ‡ and itt seemes my Lord of Shasbury promised my Ld Digby his interest for ye Election but att the same tyme used his power for another person whome all ye Countery hates and he is knowne to have been ye greatest villine livinge against ye King's intrest: I have forgotten his name: When these Lords mett, my L^d^. Digby tooke my Lord Shasbury by ye arme and drewe him aboute 20 paces from ye company: What was said att ye tyme I knowe not, but my L^d^. Digby had almost throwne him on ye grounde: but, gettinge loose my L^d^. Digby tould him that from his Cradle he had alwayes practised Tretchery to his Kinge Countery and all men that he ever had to doe withall: and that what he had lately done should cost him his head: Tould the company that within fewe days he had said, "The Kinge of England was nott fitt to governe," with severall other things he should prove agaynst him. My Ld Digby drewe on him, but Mr Trygunnell seased his sword. I could write you a sheete on this purpose; but I have writt the heads of ye matter: soe I shall att this tyme saye no more of itt; but pray neglect not a minite soe soone as you have read my Letter, but to tell itt either to Mr Thos. Killigrewe of the Bed-chamber, or to some other of your acquayntance that will imediately tell ye Kinge, for I fancy he will be pleased at ye passage: but you must neglect noe tyme for Trygunnell and some others will write this post: and I would willing have myne ye first: now I think on't, no one will be soe fitt as Sir Joseph Williamson §: pray comunicate it to him, and write me by the first what he sayes, give hime my most humble service. I am sorry for pooer Pettes. I heare Jack Butler, Jack Howard, Kent & severall other of our friends are killed, but Noll Nickolas your freinde is escaped. You are a whimsicall fellowe to come heather for a night only. I dyned agayne this day with Mr Trygunnell,

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[1] The date of this letter is not given, but it is ascertained from another letter upon the same subject, written by Lord Shaftesbury himself to William Bennett, Esq., 28th August, 1675, and lately printed in the Appendix (p. 103) to "The Pyt House Papers." The actual scene of the assault was Fernditch Lodge, in South Wilts, on Friday, 27th August, 1675.

* John Tregonwell, Esq., of Anderston, near Wimborne Minster, Co. Dorset.

† Napier, of More Crichell.

‡ Giles Strangways, Esq.

§ Secretary of State, 1674-78.

my head is warme and wants rest, soe good night. All heare are well and remembᶜᵉ to you soe good night: pray write what newes you have.

"R. Ingram."

In another hand, underneath :—

"Sil vous ne faire pas un voyage exprés pour voir icÿ je dire que vous este un mechant frere, adieu

"M J."

Address: "To Mʳ William Ernley belonging to her Majesty yᵉ Queene.
"Windsor."

Docketed: "Mʳ Ingram to Mʳ Ernely about Lᵈ. Shaftsbury & Lᵈ. Digby"

XXXIII.—Guy Carleton, Bishop of Chichester. Two Letters from him to Henry Coventry, Secretary of State, about the reception given at Chichester, in February, 1679, to the Duke of Monmouth on his returning from abroad without King Charles the Second's leave.

[Guy Carleton, D.D., of the same family as George Carleton, the forty-eighth Bishop of Chichester, was a native of Cumberland and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. He had been deprived of two benefices by the Presbyterian "Triers" who imprisoned him at Lambeth and treated him with great severity. "Worn out by hardships he plotted an escape; and his wife having conveyed a rope to him in prison, a boat was prepared to receive him and convey him away. The rope proving too short, he broke and dislocated some of his limbs by the fall; but succeeded in reaching the boat, which carried him to some place of concealment. He used to relate to his friends that he was then so very poor that his faithful wife, to pay for medical assistance, sold her clothing and earned their joint subsistence by daily labour. After passing, more than a year in this misery he escaped to the continent. At the Restoration, Charles II. with more than his usual gratitude to the partizans of the royalist cause, appointed him Dean of Carlisle and Prebendary of Durham. In 1671 he was made Bishop of Bristol, and in 1678 translated to Chichester. He died in 1685, at the age of 89, and was buried in the choir."[1]]

[1] M. A. Lower's Worthies of Sussex, p. 118.

"Sr

"On Feb: 7. the D. of Monmouth came to Chichester; the Lord Grey his Harbinger went out to bring him in, attended with broken shoemakers carpenters & their apprentices, about fifty or threscore of the scum of this city: noe maior, nor any gentleman either living in this city or countrey about us that apeard abroad or went out to meet him: and had his reception rested there it had bene no more than what could be expected from men of broken fortunes: but our great Clergiemen, in this cathedral, caused him to be welcomed with Bells & bonefire, theire own bonefire bene made before the doore where the D. lodged. One of them was tender footed having been blouded lately for the gout, the other Dr. Edes who is dominus factotum in this Cathedrall went in person to compliment expressing great joye to see him & proffering all they both had to serve him. Dr. Edes officiated as a chaplane & said Grace at Supper to him & Breman [or Bremore] the great villaine of this part of England he, and Penn. this was Satterday night, next day Dr. Edes conducted the Duke from his lodging to the Cathedrall; from the Chapter door he was ushered into the quire with a volinterie upon the organ, and placed in the Dean's seat till prayers were done. Before the sermon a pick't psalome was.....being a parte of the first psalme in these wordes 'He shalbe like the tree that growes fast by the river side that bringeth forth most pleasant fruite in his due tyme & tide whose leaf shall never fade nor fall but florish still & glad: even so all things shall prosper well that this man takes in hand;" and then concluded. At evening prayer this Anthem was made choice of: *viz.* The slaughter of Saul & his peple upon the mountains of Gilboa: not a worde (I warrant you) of the King's enemies to perish, or that upon himselfe that his crown might Long florish. These had been Apocryphall Anthems when the Comonwealth Saints apeard amongst us.

"I would not joyne in their triumphant introduction of the Duke with bells & bonefires. I told them I thought it did the least become us of the clergie of all others, to open our arms so wide to receive any subject that had turned his back upon his Soveragne and continued obstinately in his disobedience. Whereupon when it was darke a clubb of the rout were sent to my house to demand wood for bonefires; 'the least of the Clergie in towne,' they said, 'had made a bonfire before the D: lodging and I must doe so too.' Some of my servants made Answere, that 'they knewe I woold putt my wood to no such uses:' Whereupon they shouted and said 'the Bishop was an old popish Rogue therself, and all his family wur Rogues and whores;' & then shot thrice into my house & seconded those with a power of stones so that my people believed they would breake in upon us & cutt our throats, but for all that I went to church the next day and did not bow my body to him that would not bow his head to the King his father and Kept no compaine but his father's enemies; for that I was mightily condemned for by birds of that feather, but whether I did err in my judgement in that point or no I cannot tell. I am sure I did, & I hope to my death ever shall, stand right in my affection & loyalty to the King my master.

"This is a true Relation without addition of any circumstance that was not or diminution of what was: and I doe [it] to prevent fals reports which I dare say wil be many upon this occasion & very various.

"I think you are wearie already, & yet I must begg leave to tell you one more: the present maior of Chichester an honest blunt man, of whom the fanatic

party say that the Bp. & the Maior pull both in one collar, this maior, after the D. had bene in towne some days went with his brethren to give him a visit Some about the D. said 'he lookt very yong.' 'No,' said the maior speaking to the D. 'I am no yong man, for I bore armes for the late King against those Rebells,' and 'I remember' said he 'that they ushered in that Rebellion with petitioning the King as now they doe, and I believe these petitioners would turne things againe into the same Channel. 'Why,' said the Duke, 'would you not have them petition the King for the sitting of a Parliament?' 'No indeed' said the maior, 'the King having putt out his proclamation to the contrarie I think no man ought to doe it.' 'And are not you then for a Parliament to sitt?' 'Yeas,' said the maior, 'when the King pleases, and not till then.' Then the Lord Grey interposed, & told the maior that 'he would come to his house & convince him,' & so that parle ended. Not one gentleman that I war of that went out to meet him at his coming, or that ever since apeard in the field to hunt with him, except Mr. Butler* of Amberley, an elected member for this parliament for Arundel, & Mr. Roger Bullos brother in law

"About three weeks agoe in Midhurst here in Sussex some compaine being together amongst other things the King's prorogation of the parliament fell in discourse amongst them. One of them peremptorily stood up & said 'Well, for all that the sword shall be drawn before May Day, and I care not if the King stood by & heard me.' This I had from one that heard the wordes spoken. I am & ever shal be, honored Sir

"Your most obliged servant

"feb: 13 "G. CHICHESTER."

1679."

"To the honorable Henry Coventry, principal
Secretarie to his Matie at his office
in Whitehall, these
present
in London."

Seal: See of Chichester impaling erm. on a bend 3 *pheons.*

2. THE SAME TO THE SAME (NO DATE).

"Honored Sir

"I have written five or six Letters to you of some passages as came to my knowledge and such as I thought your wisdome knew best to Judge of whether they might be for his Maties service or no, as I thought it my duty to doe it so I knew not a faithfuller bosome to comitt them to, to consider of, then to Mr Secretarie Coventre. I did not expect any account from you of what I wrote, further then that you receaved those papers, which would cure my Jealosie that the postmaster never sent them because I never heard a word of your receipt of them; if you did receive them, then I am more troubled lest some body hath done some ill office against me. I doe call God to witness, and myne own conscience doe beare witnesse for me, that I have not been guilty of ill thoughts,

* Mr. James Butler, M.P., purchased Amberley.

wordes or deeds, towards Secretarie Coventry (wittingly or willingly) from the first time I knew him to this very instant, and therefore if any mischevous person hath possest you with any ill opinion of me I heartily begg the knowledge of the crime laid to my charge, & if I doe not disprove that & cleare myne own innocence, Let me lie under your displeasure so long as I live, & I am unwilling to groan under such a weight a week longer. A gentleman whom I have long known passing through Sussex, upon his own occasions, & coming to Chichester gave me a visit, & told me that many ill affected parishes there he came [to] were all very well armed, & said they had bene bid to lay down their armes, but they would not; their lands and their armes should both be taken away together. Others, he said, were full of hope that within a small tyme they should neither pay customes nor..... On Sunday night last the newes was brought to Chichester to the Coffee house that the Duke of Monmouth was returned to London but without the King's leave; for that the K. was heighly incensed against him, & would not look upon him. This newes so rejoiced the fanatick party that they made bonefires & drank the D. M's health & shot of gunnes all the night & drank his health bareheaded. Diverse townsmen came to me for wood & money to make bonefires & drynk the D. health & to have the bells at the cathedral ring for Joy. I told them if theire judgment were not blinded with prejudice they must believe that I had as much kindness for any branch of the Royall Family as any of them could have: but till I knew that the D. M. was returned with the King's leave & approbation I would not Joyne in any such publick action: & told them I thought it would be wisdom in themselves not to be rash & forwarde in such an action till they were satisfied that it stood with his Maties good pleasure that they should doe so; not withstanding all this they made bonefires, drunk & shott of gunnes all the night. This I thought my duty to acquaint you with, whose wisdom knowes best what use to make of it. Honored Sir, I remaine

"Your very humble & much obliged Servant
"Guy Chichester."

"To the hon^{ble}
Henry Coventry
principal Secretarie of state
to his Matie at his office in
Whitehall.
these
present
in London."

XXXIV.—1686, June 22nd. Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

1. Sir Winstone Churchill, Father of the First Duke, to Blue Mantle, about the History of his Family.

"Deare Sir

"This is to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 10th instant which I cannot but take extreme kindly from you, being (as we say) a tast of your Office, & that which you have formerly (as did allso S^{r}. Edwd. Bish in his life tyme) with

no lesse reason then affection offer to me. However, I doe not suspect in the least my tytle to the ancient armes (as you call it) should be forgotten or questioned since the monuments of my Ancestors will cleare that dispute, & which armes was born by the father I think no man will deny to belong to the son: besydes the very grant itselfe by whiche I am licensed to ware the lyon without the bend, evinces that till the tyme of that grant it was borne with the bend: And as to the canton I take it not to be given me as any essentiall part of my coat, (for so I refuse to accept it) but (as t'is expressed in the grant,) as an Augmentation of honour: & if my son think it not so, I know not but that he is at liberty to omit it, & bear the lyon without it. To thes you object, that were to assume the Coate of divers other families as for instance, Mathewes, Verdon, Pendoker & Planck (to which you might have added Williams & Cromwell) which I take are so many presedents against your allegation, to prove that divers families may give one and the same armes & why not mine as well as others, deriving my authority from the same fountaine (the King) who may dispose of all Armes as he pleases: but I must further tell you (as I have formerly) that I take not this as a Grant of new Armes, but a restoration to the olde: for however you call the Lyon under the bend the ancient bearing (which is indeed very ancient) yet it is not the antientest: the originall coate being only Sable a Lyon Rampant Argent: w^{h} was the coate of Otho de Leon (as may be seen in all the French Heralds) Castelan of Gisor (whom we call our Common ancestor) of whome we have this account.

"The said Otho had 2 sons, Richard, Lord of Montalban, & Wandrill, lord of Courcelle: Richard had issue, by his wife Yoland Countess of Gramont, Claud whose posterity continued the sirname De Leon: Wandrill had issue by his wife Beatrice de Tria, Raoule & Roger, who tooke the sirname of Courcelle. Roger the younger brother came into England with W^{m} the Conqueror, & had by guift from the said King, the forfeited estates of Brictric & Bond, Englishmen of great note in the West: He married the lady Mabel de Solariis by whom he had issue Roger commonly called the Blind Baron of Soleigny, who took the Sirname of Fitz-Roger & gave his Mother's Armes, viz quarterly Arg: & Gules: he had issue by his wife Gertrude dau. of Sir Guy de Torbay, 3 sons: 1. Roger, 2. Hugh & 3, John: from Roger the elder brother (who was the second Baron of Soleigny) descended the Fitz Rogers Ancestors to the familys of Clavering & Ewers in the North. Hugh the 2nd brother was Lord of Corfeton in Dorsetshire (so tis call'd in the Doomsday book which for ought I know was Corton) who havinge the estate of the above said Bond given to him in franch mariage with his only daughter, his posterity assumed the name & Armes of the said Bond who was Lord of Fisherton in Somersetshire; Viz: in a feild sable a fesse Or. John the 3^{d} Brother was Lord of Currichill, or as t'is in divers records Chirechile, since called Churchill in Somersetsh.: who marying the lady Joane de Kilvington had issue by her Sir Bartholomew de Churchill, a man of greate note in the time of K. Steven: for whome he defended the Castle of Bristow against the Empress Maud, & was slain afterward in that warr: he was father of Elyas de Churchill, who had 3 sons, Otho, Christopher & John. Otho having bin active in the Barons Warr in the tyme of K. Henry 3, his son K. Edw. 1. seised on his lordship of Churchill, which continued in the Crown till Edward the 3^{ds} tyme who gave it to a domestick of his one St Low who had deserved well of him in his French

warrs. His posterity continued the possession of it till nere about Hen. 8 his tyme: when it came to the family of Jennings, & was continued in that name till my daughter Churchill's father* sold it to Sr John Churchill the late Master of the Rolls: & had come to my son in right of his wife had it not been so unfortunately alienated by her father. Christopher, lord of Lyneham in Devonshire the 2^d^ brother to Otho left only one daughter maryed into the family of Crocker who are yet lords of Lyneham: John the 3^d^ brother was lord of Letleham in the sayd county: who had 2 sons John L^d^ of Letleham after him, & Giles, lord of Rockabere: This last John had issue, by his wife Joane one of the daus. & heirs of Roger Dauney of Norton Dauney by his wife Julian the only dau. & heir of Widdibere of Widdibere alias Woodbere in Devonshire only 2 daus.: who carryed away his estate to the 2 familys of Hillersdon of Memland & Gifford of Thenborough. Giles the younger brother of John L^d^ of Rockbere was Ancestor to Charles Churchill of Rockebere, who marying the only dau. & heire of Wildyarde of Wildyarde Co. Devon had issue Thomas: who maryed the dau & heire of Tylle of Tyle house by whom he had 3 sons: 1. William from whome discended Churchill of Corton in Dorsetshire, whose estate is since passed away by two daughters, to familys of Williams & Mohun; 2. John who was ancestor of the present Churchills of Muston: & 3. Roger who by Eliz. dau. of Peverell of Bradford Peverell, Relict of Nicholas Meggs, had issue Mathew father of Jaspar my grandfather, who by Elizabeth Daughter of Roger Clapcot of Horrington had issue John my father: who by Sarah one of the daus. & coheirs of Sir Henry Winston of Standish in the Co. of Glouecester, had issue John my elder brother, who died presently after his birth, & myselfe who by my wife Elizabeth 3rd daughter of Sir John Drake of Ashe, have had a plentifull issue: to wit: 8 sons & 3 daughters: My eldest daughter & the only daughter now living is Arabella, now wife of Coll. Charles Godfry: my eldest son is the present Lord Churchill, who has maryed Sarah one of the daus. & coheires of Richard Jennings of St Albans: the unfortunate broker of the Manner of Churchill, which is now to be sold, but my son being disappointed of having it given to him as Sir John Churchill allways did promise him, refuses to buy it. If I have troubled you with this tedious narrative of the concerns of my family, thank yourself for it that gave me the first provocation. I have nothing further to adde but that I am with all sincerity

"S^r^

"Mintern.
22^d^. of June
1686."

"y^r^. most affectionate freind
& servant
W. CHURCHILL.

Address: "For my worthy freind Mr John
Gibbon Blew Mantle Herald
to be left at the Heralds office
or at his own house in S^t^. Catharine's
cloyster
nere the Tower
in London"

(Seal gone.)

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* He means his daughter-*in-law*, Sarah, daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq., wife of his son John Churchill, the great duke.

2. The Duke of Marlborough to Robert Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford), Threatening to Break a Printer's Bones.

[The Duke had been often attacked and slandered in some weekly publications, particularly in one called the "Observator." The following letter was sent by some private hand, the names both of the sender and receiver being suppressed.]

"Oct. 11. 1706 [*on the Continent, but no place named.*]

"I have by this post sent an "Observator" to M^r^ St Johns. I shou'd be extreamly obliged to you if you wou'd speak to Ld Keeper, and see if there be any methode to protect me against this rogue who is set on by Lord Havershame,* if I can't have justice done me, I must find some friend that will break his, and the printer's bones, which I hope will be approved on by al honest Englishmen since I serve my Queen and country with all my heart. When I have been at the Hague I shall be better able to let you know if Franco's coming may be of any use, but I fear the ill humour is already gone beyond his reach.

Address on cover:

"To your self."

XXXV.—1708-9. Henry St. John (First Viscount Bolingbroke).

[The first Viscount Bolingbroke, the celebrated statesman (see *Wilts Mag.*, vii., 143) married for his first wife, Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchcombe of Bucklebury, Co. Berks: and in right of his wife resided there occasionally (Lyson's Berks, 253).[1] In the third of the following letters he speaks of (West) Lavington as his hunting residence. He must have lived there only as occupier: because the house then standing (of which, as also of its famous gardens, described by Aubrey, "Natural History of Wilts," no traces are left) belonged in 1709 to Montagu Bertie, Second Earl of Abingdon, whose father had obtained a large

* Sir John Thompson, created Lord Haversham, 1696, a leading M.P. and a great promoter of the Revolution.

[1] In a letter, 15th May, 1711, H. St. John thanks Mr. Drummond for some bay-trees imported, and desires to know of their arrival "that I may have one of my gardeners ready to take them out of the ship and to convey them to Bucklebury. I cannot plunge myself so far into the thoughts of public business, as to forget the quiet of a country retreat, whither I will go some time or other, and am always ready to go at an hour's warning."

property at Lavington by marriage with a representative of the family of Danvers. He sat in Parliament for Wootton Basset. The published "Letters and Correspondence" of Henry St. John, four vols., 8vo., 1798, begin 13th October, 1710.]

1. Henry St. John to Rt. Hon. Robert Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford).

"Dear S^r^ "Bucklebury. May 1. 1708

"Mr Long is now with me, & the account he gives me is that there are 3 candidates att Cricklade, Mr Dunch,* Mr Vernon & one Mr Goddard. the two former have engaged all the votes but 50, which are 30 short of the N^o^. necessary: so that if the latter sh^d^ resign to me still it is impossible for me to succeed. Mr Long & another gentleman of my friends have talked with the Bailiff & others whom they can trust, & you may depend on this as a true state of the matter I have seen Mr Child's Letter to Mr Long from the Devizes † wherein he owns it impossible to do any good there: & in short the intention was only to have drawn me into a share of the expense.

"Mr Long is clearly of opinion, that Mr Robert Bertie does not care to stand, & that I might be chose att Westbury if my Lord Abingdon pleased w^h^ I am very far from thinking he will.

"I neither have omitted nor w^d^ omit any trouble, care or expence in my power since my friends think I might be of some little use to them & to my country, but know not w^h^ way to turn myself.

"My father ‡ makes a scandalous figure, neglected by all the gentlemen & sure of miscarrying where his family always were reverenced.

"It is late at night. I am ever y^r^ most faithfully

"H. S. J."

"You will acquaint Harcourt
with these matters.
R^t^ Honb^le^ R. Harley."

2. The Same to (name not preserved).

"Bucklebury. Nov. 14. 1708

"Dear Tom. I never was more vex'd in my life than when I rose this morning to find ye servants I had order'd to attend you in ye morning had been drunk all night & neglected to wait on you. I have sent them a-grazing, & I ask y^r^ pardon for ye ill-usage you had.

"I forgot to speak to Mr Harley att Oxford in a matter w^h^ concerns me very nearly & w^h^ I desire you to mention to him. A Kinsman of mine, & as honest

* In 1708 Edmund Dunch, Esq., of Down Amney, near Cricklade, and James Vernon, Esq., were returned for Cricklade.

† The Child family were of Headington, Devizes, and Yatton Keynell, in Co. Wilts. John Child, Mayor of Devizes, 1694, 1702. Sir Francis Child, M.P. for Devizes, 1698, 1701, 1710. Robert Child, 1713.

‡ Sir Henry St. John died at Battersea, his family-seat, July 3rd, 1708, in his 87th year.

a good man as ever was born, is put on the list of Sheriffs for Wilts. I w^d never solicite to have him excused, nor w^d Mr. Pleydell desire it, was it possible for him to discharge ye office but his health is so extreamly ruin'd by sickness, & his mind so broken by misfortunes that it w^d be an act of barbarity to force him into this employment.

"If M^r. Harley c^d prevail upon the Duke of Newcastle, Ld Pawlet, or any other Privy Counsellor to appeare for him, it w^d be a never to be forgotten obligation & I pawn my honour & word the excuses are true in fact. Dear Tom, make my comp^t to all my friends & believe me ever yr H. S. J."

3. The Same to Rt. Hon. R. Harley.

"Bucklebury. Sep. 17 1709.

"I send this note to express my concern y^t I am not able to wait on you att Oxford as Mr. Granville & I had proposed to do.

"You can have nothing to communicate to me w^h will not be so far welcome that it comes from you. But I begin to expect neither peace abroad nor good order att home.

"I wish you perfect health & good weather, two articles of no small importance to ye satisfaction & joy of life. In 3 weeks time I intend to go to Lavington. My Hounds & Horses are already there, my Books will soon follow. In that retreat, if I may hear sometimes y^t you & ye few friends w^h I have in ye world are well, all will be well with me. I am ever Dear Sir

"faithfully yours."

4. The Same to Rt. Hon. R. Harley.

"Bucklebury. Sep. ye 21st 1709

"Having an opport^y of sending a letter safely to Oxford, & Stratford having formerly told me that he had a very sure way of conveying anything to you, I transmit this to him.

"I sh^d have been very glad to have known ye particulars of this noble project, since it's hard to imagine what air of probability c^d be given to any story calculated for such a purpose. But there is an ill-nature in ye world w^h makes men incapable of submitting to ye laws of friendship themselves & of patiently seeing it prevail among others.

"I thank you for those kind comprehensive wishes w^h you bestow upon me. In this obscure & private life I am perfectly easy, & shall with ye same ease return to ye noise & business of an active publick life, whenever ye service of my country or of my friends calls me forth.

"Since you are so indifferent as not to trouble yrself either about ye peace, or ab^t ye measures w^h our Governours at home will pursue, my indifference will increase upon me, & I will likewise wait with patience for that something wh. is not much expected.

"Adieu, D^r S^r, may you still continue involv'd in y^r virtue & shielded by y^r innocence, safe from every dart of malice. May all y^r designs for ye good of y^r country prosper, & every other blessing light upon you

"Sic vovet

"H. S."

(To be Continued.)

Consecration of Nuns at Ambresbury, A.D. 1327.

By the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A.

SOME particulars about Ambresbury Priory, derived chiefly from papers at Longleat, have already been given in this *Magazine* (x. 61); and various documents relating to it may be found in Hoare's "Modern Wilts"[1] and the "New Monasticon."[2] Among them are two lists of nuns of this house: one, of thirty-four who were dismissed with pensions at the Dissolution; the other, of twenty who were still living and receiving their pension in 1556-7 (2 Phil. & Mary).

The following document (here translated from the Latin) has, hitherto, escaped discovery. It was found[3] in Drokensford's Register in the Episcopal Registry at Wells. It relates to the consecration of nuns in A.D. 1327, a very early period in the history of the Priory. How it came to be in the registry of Wells, in Co. Somerset, Ambresbury being within the diocese of Sarum, is explained in this way. The Bishop of Sarum of that day being hindered from performing the ceremony himself, issued a Commission to his brother Bishop of Bath and Wells to discharge the duty for him:—

"Commission from the Bishop of Sarum to the Bishop of Bath and Wells to Consecrate Virgin Nuns at Ambresbury.

"To the Venerable Father in Christ and Reverend Lord, the Lord John * by divine grace Bishop of Bath & Wells, Roger † by the same permission Bishop of Sarum, Greeting & continual increase of brotherly love. Our beloved daughters in Christ the Prioress and Convent ‡ of the Priory of Ambresbury

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[1] Hund. of Ambresbury, p. 65.

[2] Dugdale, New Monast., Amesbury, pp. 334, 340.

[3] By the late Rev. John Wilkinson, of Broughton Gifford.

* John de Drokensford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, A.D. 1309—1329.

† Roger de Mortival, Bishop of Sarum, A.D. 1315—1330.

‡ Here the word "Convent," used at a later period for the *building*, clearly signified the *society*: as in Shakespeare, Hen. VIII.:—

"the reverend abbot
With all his convent, honourably received him,"

in our Diocese having besought us that certain Nuns of the said Priory being Virgins & having made profession, being of suitable age and otherwise qualified according to canonical regulations, may be consecrated by you on the next ensuing Feast of the Ascension of our Lord, We, yielding to their request, do of our special power grant permission unto you to bestow on the said Nuns the gift of consecration, and unto them to receive the same. As witness these present letters confirmed by the impression of our seal and addressed to your reverend Fathership. And may the Supreme guardian of Virgins of his mercy preserve you in all desirable prosperity for the government of his Church. Given at Nonesle 5th May, A.D. 1327."

Names of the Nuns consecrated at Ambresbury on Ascension Day.

"Domina Isabella de Lancaster *	Domina Johanna le Rous
„ Margareta Florack	„ Johanna Pauncefot
„ Alicia Groucet	„ Elyzabeth de Wyncester
„ Agnes de Horncastel	„ Umania [?] de Sombourne
„ Johanna Aucher	„ Alicia Baudich
„ Elena de Babynton	„ Margeria de Burton
„ Margeria de Pyrebroke †	„ Maria Mautravers
„ Editha Bisshop	„ Hawysia le Veel
„ Agnes de Wynkenholte	„ Alicia de Sombourne
„ Amisia Knouel	„ Margareta de Cranle
„ Johanna de Wrotham	„ Katharina de Oxenford
„ Margareta de Bottenham.	„ Margareta Archur
„ Mary Fitz Gautier [*Walter*].	„ Claricia Sylveyn
„ Agnes de Kyngesle	„ Agnes de la Folye
„ Katharina Galruge	„ Christina De la More
„ Margeria de Donestaple.	„ Alicia Kytewyne
„ Lucia de Oxenford	„ Alicia de Depeford
„ Agnes de Seynte Lieger.	„ Sibilla Pycot"

This list of ladies' names (though little or nothing may be known about the greatest part of them) suggests one or two remarks:—

1. The first on the list, Isabella de Lancaster, was daughter of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback, son of King Henry III. She being of blood royal, some at least of her associates may be presumed to have belonged to an upper, rather than to any lower rank in society. So that we probably have here a fair illustration of John Aubrey's account of female education in old times.

"The young mayds were brought up (not at Hackney, Sarum Schools, &c., to learne pride and wantonnesse but) at the Nunneries where they had example of

* By some said to have been Prioress: but see *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, vol. x., 67, *note.*
† Prioress in 1349 (Wilts Institutions).

Piety and Humility, modestie and obedience to imitate and to practise. Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionary, surgery, physick, writing, drawing, &c. This was a fine way of breeding up young women who are led more by example than precept, and a good retirement for widowes and grave single women to a civil virtuous and holy life." *

All very good, so far as the early education of the young ladies was concerned: but the solemn dedication of them, by vow, to single blessedness for life (and such would be the effect of the consecration for which the document above given was the warrant) was a very different affair. When carried to so great an extent as it used formerly to be, it became a serious national question, which at length was seriously answered.

2. As to the formation of surnames. It is well known that many of what are now become established family surnames were originally merely the names of the homes or places at which persons were born, or to which they belonged; the particle "de" ("of" or "from") being prefixed. This was very common, especially in the fourteenth century, and among ecclesiastics. In the earlier episcopal registers at Salisbury, the greater part of the clergy are so described: not as sons of certain parents, but simply as coming from such or such a place. The present list is not a bad instance of the same custom prevailing in the case of females. The reason was simply this. In early days the Church, then all-powerful, acknowledged only the Baptismal name: so that in order to distinguish one John or one Katharine from another, it was usual—in Latin or French, one or other of which was almost invariably the language of official papers—to describe, say, John a Devizes-man, as "Johannes de Divisis," or Katharine an Oxford maiden, as "Katharina de Oxenford." Some families have retained, and some adopted, this primitive fashion of nomenclature, a fancy at which Erasmus, in his colloquy called "The False Knight," has an amusing hit.

J. E. J.

* See "Wiltshire Collections, Aubrey & Jackson," p. 12.

ON THE

Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury.

By the Rev. Arthur P. Morres, Vicar of Britford.

PART III.—INSESSORES (CONIROSTRES).

(Continued from Vol. xviii., page 213.)

Fringillidæ.

Passer Domesticus. "The House Sparrow." We now arrive at the large family of the Finch tribe, at the head of which we may fitly place our friend Cock Sparrow. Bold, obtrusive, and uncommonly well satisfied with himself, there is no fear of his remaining unknown to anyone, so that without further remark, I may safely leave him to take care of himself, which he is quite capable of doing, and proceed at once to his near relation.

Passer Montanus. "The Tree Sparrow." This is a beautifully-marked bird, and, though one which we cannot call uncommon, yet, I should think, as little known as any of our smaller birds, which do not actually thrust themselves into notice. The head of this bird is a beautifully rich brown, and the rest of the plumage, though generally resembling the last species, is more clearly and delicately marked. A year or two ago there stood a very old and thick thorn hedge between the Great and South Western Railways, in an unfrequented spot, and there they used frequently to build; but the hedge has been now cut down, and their retreat lost to them. Champion has found them in most of the neighbouring parishes, and taken their nest near Martin, and they are also to be found round the Warminster district. In conversation with Mr. Hart he told me that he had noticed them in great numbers at Market Harboro' in Leicestershire, where they seemed almost as common as the

House Sparrow; but he only occasionally noticed one near Christchurch. I have shot them myself as a boy at Wokingham, in Berkshire, and I should judge that they were widely scattered throughout the country, though perhaps little known.

Fringilla Cælebs. "The Chaffinch," or "Pink" as it is sometimes called, from its note. Of bachelor habits, as its Latin name implies, the males during the winter remaining together in the more northern parts, the females as a rule penetrating further south. One of our most beautiful nest-builders—its mossy cup-shaped nest, perched on some apple-bough, or against the side of some forest-tree, being a perfect pattern of neatness. Its reiterated spring song is very lively and cheering.

Fringilla Montifringilla. "The Mountain Finch," or "Brambling." This very handsome bird is almost entirely a winter visitant to us, though I see Meyer mentions one or two instances of its breeding in Suffolk and Surrey. It is very irregular in its appearance amongst us; but when it does come, it is very often seen in enormous flocks. In the year 1868 these birds visited our neighbourhood in vast numbers, one might say, in thousands. Forty were killed by a man, at one shot, whom Mr. Norwood asked to obtain some specimens for him, and they were common in that winter throughout the entire district. It was about this time that Champion tells me he saw a flock of many hundreds in the parish; and one evening, when he put them up in Longford Park, the noise of their wings in rising made a rushing sound which could be heard a long distance off. Since that date he caught six or seven dozen in a day at Pentridge, near Martin, and could have caught, he tells me, as many more as he liked, but not being good songsters, he did not care for them. King, of Warminster, also bears witness to the large flocks that are seen about here occasionally. "Why, Sir," he said to me, "some winters you may get hats-full at a time." During the last two winters, however, I have neither seen, nor heard of any being seen, in the neighbourhood.

Carduelis Spinus. "The Siskin." This little bird is not very uncommon in our immediate district, and in winter it sometimes appears in considerable flocks. In 1875 they were plentiful in the

neighbourhood. Champion has taken a good many at various times in Longford Park, in the parish, and in 1876 he trapped some nice birds there, two of which I secured for my collection, being "parishioners." They are tame confiding little birds, and occasionally will come into the conservatory at Bishopstone Rectory, as Mr. E. Lear informs me. I believe at times that some remain with us all the year, and occasionally breed in the district. This is pretty well proved by the following fact, *i.e.*, that Champion, in 1871, when he was catching young Linnets at Broadchalke, trapped seven Siskins, two of which he told me were old birds, and the other five evidently young ones. It was late in July when he caught them, and being an unusual time of year to meet with them, he remembered the circumstance as being worthy of note. I have heard also of their being seen very late in the spring in the neighbouring parish of Nunton, where one of the lads told me he thought he might be able to find a nest of them, and I asked him to look out for further information about it. Champion's testimony, however, there is no reason to dispute.

Carduelis Elegans. "The Goldfinch." There is no land bird I think that is benefitting more by the Wild Bird Preservation Act than this little gem of all the Finches. In more than one place I have heard them spoken of as being more common than they used to be, and I have noticed them myself more frequently than before. Only once, however, have I seen a flock of some thirty or forty together, and that was many years ago, in Berkshire. There is no doubt at all (as the Rev. A. C. Smith mentions in his papers on the birds of Wilts) about there being two distinct species of these birds recognized by our bird-catchers. On asking Champion if he thought so, he said, "Yes, Sir, surely, every bird-catcher knows that—we call the bigger sort 'Three-pound-tenners' amongst ourselves, and they are quite different from the others. You can distinguish them readily by the largeness of the white spot on the end of the quill feathers of the wing; and also by their white throat, and the bigger black crescent, which comes much further round the side of the face, and they are of a more slender shape altogether than the others. They are worth more because they will breed more readily with the

canary than the smaller kind, though the latter will do so sometimes." Another bird-fancier also told me that he knew the two kinds well, and that they called the bigger sort "The Chevil," or "Chevril." About the year 1857 Champion trapped a beautiful white specimen of the larger sort, at Miles Court, near Fordingbridge. This bird was pure white, with the exception of the yellow on the wing, and the black and crimson on the head, and was a most beautiful specimen, as may easily be imagined. He sold it the same evening for 5*s.* 6*d.*, as he feared it might get hurt amongst the other birds, of which he had trapped a great number.

Linaria Cannabina. "The Linnet." Common in suitable places. Few people know the extreme beauty of the cock bird in his nuptial dress. It is then one of our handsomest Finches, and its colours when caged never reach in any degree the perfection it attains to in its wild state. As Meyer says, "In adult summer plumage the forehead and great part of the breast are brilliant scarlet, or poppy-red, shining with metallic lustre," and there is many a person who would not even know what bird it was, who has only been accustomed to see them as immature or caged specimens. I had a very pretty pied specimen of this bird sent me from Hurdcott this autumn—the whole plumage being speckled and spangled with white feathers.

Linaria Montana. "Mountain Linnet," or "Twite." Here, again, is a bird very little known or noticed amongst us, but which is occasionally seen, and visits us, I believe—anyhow in the winter—annually. It may not at first sight be easy to distinguish it from the hen or the young birds of the last species; but by the careful observer it can be at once distinguished from either Linnet or Redpole by its slenderer form, and greater proportionate length of tail. In the cock bird also the lower part of the back is of bright crimson, shading into brown, and this patch of colour in the male can always be detected, at all seasons of the year, though it is less brilliant in the autumn and winter months. Champion knows the bird well, and has occasionally trapped them, though they are not so common as most of our smaller birds; but he has frequently taken three or four of a day, and has caught them at Odstock Pond, and on Wittsbury Down, during the months of August and September. The last

he trapped were in 1872. Mr. Baker says they are not unfrequently to be met with on Mere Downs, and thought most likely that they occasionally bred there. He once asked a bird-catcher in the autumn to secure a pair for him, and he brought them to him the very next day, and this was in the early autumn of 1870, so that it impressed him at the time with the idea that they might possibly have bred somewhere near. But they generally choose far more northern breeding-places.

Linaria Minor. "The Redpole." This bird also, like the preceding species, is a bird more commonly met with farther north, but it occasionally visits us in small flocks, and is certainly commoner than the Twite amongst us, and is more likely to be met with as occasionally breeding with us. King, of Warminster, assures me that he knows of several instances of their having done so, but he did not give me further particulars about it. Mr. Baker says they are to be found in small flocks on the Mere Downs, both in summer and winter. That they do sometimes breed in the south is substantiated by Meyer who mentions a couple of nests of this species, which were taken in Shanklin Chine, on May 17th, 1843.

Linaria Borealis. "The Mealy Redpole." Concerning this species I cannot say much. Mr. Baker has a specimen in his collection, which certainly bears a strong resemblance to this variety in its plumage, though in size it corresponds with *Linaria Minor*. In the neighbouring county of Somerset there was a very nice specimen caught by some boys under the eaves of a barley rick, one very cold winter's evening some years back. This came into a Mr. Gatcombe's possession, of North Petherton. He not knowing what it was, asked my brother about it, and on going over with him to inspect it, there was no doubt about the bird's being a Mealy Redpole, and a very good specimen. I have not, however, heard of or seen one since myself, although Hart tells me that they are occasionally to be obtained in the Christchurch district, the bird-catchers there knowing them well, and not considering them any *very* great rarities.

Coccothraustes Vulgaris. "The Hawfinch." This is a bird that, though at one time looked upon rather as a rarity, is certainly be-

coming more common amongst us year by year. They are always to be found in small parties in our own parish every winter, and sometimes may be said to be numerous. Mr. Jervoise's gardener's son caught two during the winter of 1876-7, in gins which he had set for mice, one of which—a nice cock bird—he kept alive for some months. They are to be met with also not unfrequently in the Warminster district, King informing me that twelve or more were killed during the summer of 1877, in Mr. Wheeler's nursery garden, in that town, so that there must have been one or two broods of them hatched out not far from that place. The Rev. G. S. Master, also, Rector of Dean, tells me that his gardener looks upon them with no friendly eye, and knows them well; as summer after summer they come and attack his green peas, and do more damage among them in a short time than all the sparrows and other small birds put together. On writing to Dean last year about them Mr. Master thus replies, "My gardener tells me that yesterday (July 7th, 1877) when he was on the look out for Jays, which trouble him much in the garden, a family party of Hawfinches—two old and five young ones—with much chattering and screeching, invaded the garden, and making straight for the rows of peas, commenced their depredations. They always visit us in this way, and at this season, but we have never been able to ascertain their breeding-place. These last seem to have come from the other side of Dean Hill. I find they are well known at Whiteparish." Hart also informs me that a year or two ago they were very common in the Christchurch district, numbers of them being killed with the boys by catapults. The cock bird is a very striking fellow when in good plumage, putting you rather in mind of a gigantic cock sparrow, from the black mark that extends down the throat from the lower mandible. A nip from one of these birds is by no means to be coveted, bearing rightly as it does as one of its common names, "The Grosbeak," from its unusually thick and powerfull bill.

Coccothraustes Chloris. "The Greenfinch." Too common to need description. Last year my two little boys were at their lessons as usual, when they were surprised by a double-barrelled thud against the plate-glass of the window, which reaches down to the ground,

and on looking up they saw a halo of feathers in the air, and lying panting on the ground were a cock and hen Greenfinch, which soon expired from the crash with which they had flown against the glass, and are now perpetuated in their juvenile collection.

Pyrrhula Vulgaris. "The Bullfinch." Perhaps the most beautiful of all our small birds; nothing being able to eclipse the softness with which the black, grey, white, and rosy-pink of the cock bird are blended together. Like the dog among the quadrupeds, whose bad name only fits him for a halter, so I am afraid the poor Bullfinch, anyhow by the gardener, is thought only fit for shot. I am afraid he *does* commit depredations and shorten the existence of many a tender shoot; nevertheless, may his single plaintive whistle often be heard amongst us, and his charming plumage still frequently be seen, for no one can well pass by him without pausing to admire his lovely dress.

Pyrrhula Enucleator. "The Pine Bullfinch." An exceeding great rarity in the South of England. Hart informs me that he remembers well one of these birds occurring in the Christchurch district some years back, and passing through their hands for preservation. He remembers the occurrence of it as being a great rarity, but he did not make a note of it at the time, and therefore could give me no further information about it.

Loxia Curvirostra. "The Crossbill." This quaint bird is not of every-day occurrence, but when it does visit us it often occurs in considerable numbers, and from its active and restless habits is sure to be noticed. I have a nice pair in my collection which were killed amongst many others near Devizes in 1861, and I have numerous notices of their appearance from various quarters. Mr. Baker tells me that a large flock of these birds visited that neighbourhood in the winter of 1868-9, when numerous specimens were secured. Mr. James Sinton had a group of six or seven of them mounted under a shade, forming a very striking group. About six years ago many were brought in to King, of Warminster, from the Stourton district, and T. Powell, Esq., of Hurdcott, writes me word that a good many of these birds were shot by his uncle in a plantation of Scotch and spruce fir, some time back. Champion says that he knows them,

and has trapped one or two of them, with the Bramblings, but only on one or two occasions. One was procured by Hart, in 1876, but in some years, as he says, they occur in any numbers. The colours of these birds vary indescribably, the adult plumage of the cock bird being rosy red, the female being of a greenish hue; and according to age and sex they are found of all kinds of tints, in which grey, green, yellow, orange, and red predominate in turn.

I have no notice of the two rarer sorts, "The Parrot Crossbill," *Loxia Pytiopsittacus*, or the white winged species, *Loxia Leucoptera*, occurring in our neighbourhood.

Ampelidæ (Dentirostres).

Ampelis Garrulus. "The Bohemian Waxwing." I have only heard of one instance of this rare bird having been killed in our more immediate neighbourhood, and one has to travel back a long time ago for this one. The specimen I allude to was brought in to King for preservation now some forty years ago. It was a beautiful cock bird in fine preservation, and had been killed by Mr. Fussle, at Corsley, about two miles from Warminster, and, as the old stuffer described it in his own words, "when it was brought in to me it quite made my hair stand on end, and I remember it as though it were yesterday." When it does come among us it sometimes comes in large flocks, but it has not been common of late years. Hart informs me that one was killed near Christchurch, in 1872, this being the only instance occurring lately in his district.

Sturnidæ.

Sturnus Vulgaris. "The Starling." No birds would make a more interesting case in their various stages of plumage than the Starlings. The plain grey dress of the young bird, the mottled garb of the first moult, and the dark suit of the adult with its handsome metallic lustre forming some charming contrasts. Observe an old cock Starling some fine morning in spring, carolling forth his peculiar song of praise, and surely you will seem to have witnessed the perfection of happiness. He cannot keep still a minute, his quivering wings open and shut in indescribable attitudes, and he seems to be

"off his head" with enthusiastic rapture! They are wonderful imitators of other birds, one of their notes being exactly like the call of a young Brown Owl, which so took me in one day that I spent some time hunting in an old ivy bush to discover the nest of the latter bird. There is a great Starling roost in Odstock Copse, the next parish to ours, where in the winter thousands on thousands congregate together. The first time that I noticed them they were about a mile off from me, and I could not imagine what they were. Every now and then, as they performed their evolutions round and round the copse, ere they settled for the night, they appeared in the distance like a cloud of smoke, and then turning simultaneously they seemed to disappear altogether. Then as suddenly they would divide into two bodies, and wheel round, and charge each other, and amalgamate into one again, with all the precision of troops on review. I have spent many a half-hour in watching them since. And then, their noise on finally alighting for the evening! It is something beyond description! It is a perfect babel, in which each bird seems determined to have his say, and recount the occurrences of the day, and what *he* has done and seen, ere he retires to rest.

Pastor Roseus. "The Rose coloured Pastor. This beautiful bird is but a rare straggler amongst us, and he is a fortunate man who has a British-killed specimen in his collection. The only Wilts specimen which I know of is the one in the Rev. G. Powell's collection, of Sutton Veney. It was killed many years back on Salisbury Plain, by a shepherd-lad, who managed to preserve it after a fashion by peppering it, and so, as it were, embalming the body. It came eventually into Mr. Powell's posession, and was re-stuffed by King some seventeen years ago. A beautiful bird of this species was killed by Mr. Saunders, near Wallingford, in 1873, and was preserved by Harbor, of Reading, who informed me of the occurrence. And another fine bird was shot by Mr. W. Hart, the father of the present naturalist at Christchurch, in an apple tree in his own orchard. A very curious coincidence happened in Sarum about the time I first came to reside in these parts, in 1862. The Rev. A. Earle, now Archdeacon of Totness, was then Curate of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, and he told me that there was a very curious bird, mating

apparently with a common Starling in a pipe at the back of his bedroom window, where he noticed it every morning. He described the bird to me as having a good deal of pink about it, and thought it might be a rose-winged Starling. I went one day to see if I could see it, but was not fortunate enough to obtain a glance of it; but I always thought it might possibly have been one of these birds. After some little time it disappeared, and I heard no more about it.

Corvidæ.

Corvus Corax. "The Raven." This grand bird rightly heads the list of the *Corvidæ*, or Crow tribe, and still breeds in the county in several place, although I much fear it is annually getting scarcer and scarcer amongst us. You are still enlivened (?) now and then however by its sonorous croak high over your head, where your attention is drawn upwards to the grand pair circling high above you, and the inspiriting sight of which you would otherwise in all probability have missed. The last pair I saw was in the summer of last year (1877), at Hurdcott, the unmistakable croak *then* calling our attention to them. They used to breed regularly, and I think still occasionally do, at Claybury Ring—the highest point in South Wilts—and in 1876 they bred at Badbury Ring. I have also seen them and their nest in a fir plantation on Wittsbury Down. I noticed there that there were two nests in two adjoining trees, which struck me at the time as being rather peculiar, as they usually cling with great tenacity to any tree or spot when once definitely chosen by them. At the same time I saw our sable friends themselves eyeing us askance at a safe distance from their point of observation on the downs, and soon after came across a full-grown rabbit, which they had evidently surprised in the open down and killed—its eyes being pecked out, and bearing upon it other plain marks of their irresistible sledge-hammers of bills. I had a pair of young Ravens some years ago from Breamore, where the tree had been cut down which had borne their nest, one of which proved a most amusing, as well as mischievous pet, pecking off my finest flowers under my eyes and hopping off with them with the greatest *sang-froid*, as though he had achieved a most praiseworthy deed. Some years ago the old

clerk of our parish, James Oates, told me a very curious tale concerning these birds. He was out working one day when he saw a Pigeon fly past him closely pursued by a couple of Ravens, one of which, just after they had passed him, struck the pigeon on the head, which fell in an adjoining hedge. He ran up and secured the Pigeon for his dinner, when he found the bird's head and neck laid bare by the stroke of the Raven's bill. This I should fancy was rather an exceptional incident, although they doubtless attack anything that affords them a fair opportunity. In 1877 King had three birds brought to him for preservation which had been killed at the head of Shearwater Lake. But before I take leave of these noble birds I cannot help relating an occurrence concerning them which was told to me by Mr. E. Baker, of Mere, and which would seem to afford a striking instance of the power of scent which is often attributed to them. It was in the May of the year 1871, when Mr. Baker was attending the funeral of two little nieces who had died from diptheria. Their sad way lay along the downs for a mile or more, and they had not proceeded far when a pair of Ravens made their appearance, and followed the party closely for nearly a mile. During this time these birds made repeated and determined swoops at the coffins in which the bodies were contained, which they continued to do, until approaching a hollow in the downs where a rookery was located, the Rooks sallied out, and mobbed the Ravens, so that they at last turned tail, and left the party. The swoops that the birds made at the coffins were, as Mr. Baker describes, most frequent and decided, leaving on his mind no doubt that their wonderful power of scent had detected the corpses, although presented to them in such an unusual and unaccustomed form.

Corvus Corone. "The Carrion Crow." The Raven in miniature, as regards shape and appearance, but without the beautifully glossy plumage of the latter. Scattered generally everywhere. We have a pair that have built rom time immemorial in our water-meadows, finding ample provision in the dead fish and other matter that is always to be found in our "carriages and drawings," as our watercourses are called. In 1877 I took their first nest—as I wanted some eggs for my boys' collection—which was built in the topmost

boughs of an ash in a hedge-row, inaccessible except by cutting with a bill-hook the slender branch on which it rested, and thus lowering nest and eggs in safety. This nest we took on Monday, and by the following Thursday a second nest had been built in a neighbouring ash tree, and to all appearance finished, which certainly would read us a lesson of "*Nil desperandum*," but rather, when misfortune befalls, to lose no time in doing our best to amend it. I should be very sorry to miss their triple "caw-caw-caw" from the meadows, of which there is little chance, however, as they are not much persecuted, and know pretty well how to take care of themselves.

Corvus Cornix. "The Hooded Crow." This bird, once not uncommon on our downs and in our water-meadows, would seem for some reason or other to be getting annually scarcer and scarcer in our district. A few years ago there always used to be one or two of these birds in our water-meadows in the winter, but for the last eight or nine years I have not seen one in the parish. King, also, says much the same, telling me that they were common in the Warminster water-meadows some twenty years ago, but that now they have quite deserted them. Champion has noticed them occasionally on the downs round Martin, but never in any numbers. I cannot account for their thus deserting us, unless it be that our winters for some years past have been, on the whole, milder than they used to be. They are the most troublesome of all birds to the game-preservers in the north, and do more harm to the Grouse in the nesting season, by running off with the eggs directly the nest is left exposed, than all the Hawks and Peregrines put together. A friend of my brother's, in Scotland, once saw a pair of these birds mobbing a poor unfortunate rabbit on the opposite bank of the stream to that from which he was fishing. Not being able to cross the stream he at last drove them off by shouting and pelting them with stones, but as the rabbit did not move most likely they had already done their work effectually and blinded the poor animal, who therefore was not able to take advantage of the protection thus afforded him.

Corvus Frugilegus. "The Rook." Too well known to say much

about. They are very fond about us of feeding on the acorns of the ilex oak, in which occupation I have watched them for half-an-hour together. There are eight or nine large ilexes round the Moat, the seat of F. J. E. Jervoise, Esq., and I have frequently noticed quite an animated scene, as the Rooks crowd round them on some fine autumn morning, balancing themselves on the outward sprays of the branches in endeavouring to secure the best vantage-ground from which to secure their coveted prize. It is very amusing, also, to notice how two or more of them will often persecute some unfortunate Heron to which they have taken a sudden antipathy, pursuing it relentlessly for a long distance and causing it often to give vent to the most weird and unearthly noises.

Corvus Monedula. "The Jackdaw." Everyone knows "Jack." I have, however, a pair in my collection which not one person out of ten would recognize at first sight. One of them was bred in the Cathedral, and shot on a sheepfold at the neighbouring parish of West Harnham. This bird in its entire plumage presents a most curious medley of brown and grey. The other specimen is of a uniform dun-brown colour; the bird was six years old, having been kept as a pet by its former owner, when it was unfortunately killed by a cat in the street. I have never seen any other specimens like them at all, though I have now and then seen pied varieties. One of these was a remarkably handsome bird, that gave you the idea that it had been out in a snow-storm and still retained the snow-flakes all over its plumage. This bird I used to see, Sunday after Sunday, as I walked to my duty at Cothelston Church, a little parish lying at the foot of the lovely Quantock Hills, in Somerset, but I could never procure it for my collection.

Corvus Pica. "The Magpie." Not numerous in our district. I do not remember having seen one in this parish more than once or twice ever since I have been here, which speaks pretty plainly of the due attention paid to them by the gamekeepers. There are some, however, left in Clarendon Wood. Mr. Norwood, who has given much attention to the subject, fully believes there are two species of the Magpie found amongst us, though he does not think they are to be divided into the two classes of the Tree and the Bush

Magpie, on account of the different positions which they may chose for nesting. In Northamptonshire, where his home lies, he tells me he has observed them very accurately, and they used to abound there, it not being an unusual thing for him to find six or seven nests in a daily excursion, and he distinctly recognizes two sorts, one of which is nearly three inches larger than the other. Both of these sorts would build indiscriminately in trees high or low; but the thing which he had noticed, and which had most effect in convincing him of the distinction between the sorts, was that he never found an instance of the two varieties mating with each other. He never found one of the long-tailed sort mating with the smaller bird, or *vice versâ*.

Fregilus Graculus. "The Chough." A very handsome bird is the Chough, but I fear one of which it will not be much longer true to sing

"The Chough and Crow to roost are gone,"

as being seen in each other's company, in many of our counties. They used to visit our downs occasionally in former years, though I know of no recent instances of their doing so; but King informs me that he remembers one of these birds being killed by a shepherd lad at Battlesbury, on the downs about a mile-and-a-half from Warminster, but the bird was, unfortunately, not preserved. I have a fine pair in my collection, which came from Tintagel, on the Cornish coast, some six years ago. But even then the person who procured them said they were very scarce, and were not commonly seen about there. Hart, however, tells me that they still breed in the neighbourhood of Swanage, and that he has specimens not unfrequently brought him from that district. Thus he had a pair from thence in 1869; three, in 1873; a pair from Hengistbury Head, in 1871, and another pair from Swanage, in 1875, and from what he told me I gathered that they were not considered altogether as such great rarities in that district; and perhaps now the Bird Act may enable them to hold their own better than formerly.

Garrulus Glandarius. "The Jay." This bird is as cunning as it is handsome, as well as being an audacious thief. I noticed one of

these birds, in the spring of 1875, fly into a tall poplar standing on the Vicarage lawn, and after causing a great commotion, it flew off with a young thrush in its bill, pursued in vain for some distance by the parent birds. As another instance of this kind, J. A. T. Powell, Esq., tells me that he one day shot one of these birds with a full-grown chaffinch half-way down its throat, which seems to show the tricks he is often up to in this way. This bird is a great adept at keeping you in entire ignorance as to the whereabouts of his nest, not altogether from the care with which he hides it as from the fact that he never allows you to see him in its immediate vicinity. Mr. Powell thus writes to me on the subject: "I think, without any exception, Jays' nests are the most difficult of any birds to find. In a covert here there are annually two or three trips of young Jays bred, and I can sometimes find out within thirty or forty yards square, where they are; but never—and I try every year—can I discover the nest until the young are flown." As an instance of which he once showed me an old nest, which he had hunted for over and over again, but which hatched out in safety, when he discovered it in the middle of a thick thorn bush, which actually hung over the keeper's cottage, and though he was there almost daily not once had he detected the old birds near the place.

Nucifraga Caryocatactes. "The Nutcracker." This very rare bird I cannot find any instance of in this county: but Mr. Hart informs me that two fine specimens of this species were killed near Christchurch about the year 1857, one of which is now in his own museum, and the other went to a Mr. Gurney. Its beak is uncommonly powerful, and it would seem to be a greater enemy to small birds even than the Jay. Meyer mentions that it has been known to attack and devour a squirrel; its usual food, however, would seem to consist of nuts and acorns.

Scansores (Picidæ).

We come now to the family of the Scansores, or Climbers, of which the Woodpeckers form the chief group; and of all birds there are none more interesting, both from the beauty of their plumage and their comparative rarity, as well as from their peculiar habits,

which are unlike most other birds. At the head of these stands *Picus Martius*, "The Great Black Woodpecker," a bird which has always been included in British lists, but whose visits are, at any rate, very few and far between. No one who ever saw this bird could well mistake it for any other of the same tribe. Hart, of Christchurch, has a notice of this bird having been seen in the New Forest not many years back. The person who saw it was well known to him, and wrote him an account of it at the time, which quite convinced him of the truth of the occurrence. He put the letter by in a safe place to preserve it, and has not been able since to lay his hand upon it, but he is well assured of the occurrence, and has kindly promised to send me the date and circumstances of the case, as soon as he can. Mr. Rawlence, of Wilton, has a nice specimen of this bird, which he bought with many others as being local specimens. I cannot, however, give further information concerning the former history of the bird.

Picus Viridis. "The Green Woodpecker." On coming to speak of the Green Woodpecker we feel more at home, few people, I suppose, having failed both to hear and see the laughing Yaffle in their country rambles. They are scattered throughout the length and breadth of our country, wherever the land is sufficiently wooded for them, and there are always a pair which breed in the vicinity of the Vicarage here. There are few British birds more beautifully coloured than the Yaffle, with its crimson head, yellow back and generally bright green coat. I was admiring one the other day in a poor person's cottage (where I *do* like to see a case of stuffed birds occasionally) when the owner said to me, in reply to my remarks, "Yes, Sir, it *is* a beautiful bird; we call it the English Parrot," a name I never heard given to it before, but which seemed to be the usual one in that district. If anyone is not practically acquainted with this bird, let them, on the next occasion they may have of handling one freshly killed, pull out its tongue to its extreme length, and they will think of the conjuror who produces unlimited yards of tape from his mouth, which you think you are never coming to the end of. It is of a surprising length, wonderfully adapted for reaching insects in the deep crevices of the bark of the trees, where it finds

its food, and for licking up the ants and eggs from the ant-hills, which is their favorite diet. The young birds of the year are curiously mottled and speckled, very different from the old birds, and I once saw a very curious pair, which were mottled all over with flakes of yellowish-white, which gave them a curious piebald appearance, but they do not generally vary much in their plumage.

Picus Major. "The Great Spotted Woodpecker." This is, certainly the most uncommon of the three varieties of Woodpeckers that are generally seen in England. I have only seen them two or three times since I have been in these parts—on one occasion being startled by its clear single note, which, being quite an unusual sound to me, made me at once look up, when I saw one of these birds flying directly over my head in the direction of Longford Park. A pair used to breed regularly just outside the park, in the village of Bodenham, but they have not been noticed there lately, I believe; and at Hurdcott their nests are always to be found in the woods, although it is ever a matter of patience to reach the eggs, if wanted, as they can generally only be secured with the aid of saw and hatchet. It has often been a matter of dispute, as to whether there are more than two kinds of Spotted Woodpeckers inhabiting England; and, until lately, I certainly thought that there were but two—the varieties *Picus major* and *minor,* the Greater and Lesser Spotted; but last year I received a bird which certainly alters my opinion, and I now believe there is a second and distinct variety of the larger-spotted species. This bird was killed near Basingstoke, in the early summer of 1877, being apparently of full growth, and fully feathered, though evidently a young bird; and there are many distinctive marks about it, in which it certainly differs from *Picus major.* It is evidently a male bird; but the crimson on the head, instead of forming a patch on the nape of the neck, as in *P. major,* covers the whole forehead, as in *P. minor*; and surely no future moult would cause this colour to move from the crown of the head and settle itself in a distinct patch on the nape of the neck. It is, besides, a size smaller, though decidedly much bigger than *P. minor,* and the beak is not so thick at the base or so long as in *P. major.* The general markings are very similar to the larger species; I could detect

differences, but not so marked as to make a substantial difference; nor are they so decided as to render it improbable that any change should take place after the first moult. But the *crimson head*, *smaller size*, and *slighter bill*, convince me that it must be a distinct variety. Being in doubt, I looked in at the Salisbury Museum to solve my difficulties, and there my convictions were unexpectedly strengthened, for I found two specimens of *Picus major* of the usual appearance, and one, evidently an *adult male*, of the second sort; the crimson on the head of this latter bird covering the whole *crown* of the head, as in my younger bird, and being much brighter, as you would expect it to be in an adult specimen. I wish this matter may be cleared up, and perchance it will be in Professor Newton's new edition of Yarrell; but I cannot help thinking that there must be three distinct species of Spotted Woodpeckers amongst us, the middle sort of which has never yet been definitely and accurately described.

Picus Minor. "The Lesser Spotted Woodpecker." I may say not at all uncommon in our immediate neighbourhood, nor are they in Berkshire or Somerset, in both which counties I have often observed them. From their small size they doubtless frequently escape detection, and people who hear the peculiar jarring noise they so often make are content to say, as a rule, "Ah! there's a Woodpecker at work" (if they should know enough about birds to know as much as this), and would not credit that so small a workman could make so great a noise. It is a beautiful little bird, most lively and animated. One of its notes is a sharp reiterated cry, not altogether unlike that of a Kestrel—a clear sharp note, repeated six or seven times in rotation. I have seen it all round the Vicarage in various places—climbing about our fine old elms and poplars; on the apple trees in the garden; on the osiers in the withy-beds; and once I surprised it in my garden, where I had just time to see it was busily occupied with something on the ground, probably an emmet's nest, ere it rose. One winter the gardener at the Moat shot some five or six specimens of this little bird, until I was afraid he would exterminate them altogether, but now the close time will doubtless prove their friend. Last spring, when at my old home at Wokingham

in Berkshire, wishing for a memo' from the place in the bird line, I asked my brother to shoot me a Green Woodpecker, which was busily employed on the ground not far off on an ant-hill, and, rather curiously, in about an hour he shot a male *P. Viridis*, a male *P. Minor*, and a pair of Nuthatches, which made up a very pretty case, now in my possession. One of the favorite haunts of this pretty little species is to be found in the old elms of Kensington Gardens, which would doubtless prove as safe a place for them as they could well choose, proving—as is often the case—that a bold policy is the safest in the end.

Yunx Torquilla. "The Wryneck." One of our most beautifully-marked birds, and fairly numerous, though it is seldom observed on account of its generally sober-coloured plumage. Its spring note, however, is sure to betray its presence, for it cannot be mistaken, when once known, for that of any other bird. It consists of one high, sharp, clear note, quickly reiterated some nine or ten times in succession, and tells us that spring is come, quite as surely as the opening of any of our spring flowers in garden or hedge-row. It is often called the "Cuckoo's mate," amidst the varieties of other local names given to it; and in old days it used to be considered an effective charm in recalling the wandering footsteps of the husband back to his home; my ornithological taste having caused me to remember the only line of Theocritus which I can call to mind, and which tells of this supposed power in the poor Wryneck, which used to be fastened to a wheel and spun round and round, during the singing of the following incantation:—"Ἰυγξ ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα"—which being interpreted is, "Wryneck, prithee, draw the good man to my home." Would it not be well if the little bird could be used in the good cause still, in many an instance? though I am afraid the power of the little necromancer would be found but small in the cases where it would be most desirable to find it exerted. Its general plumage may be described as being a mixture of pepper and salt, with intervening bars and streaks of brown, presenting on the whole a most pleasing effect. It lays an unusually large number of eggs, commonly ten or eleven, of a dull white, in the hole of some decaying tree or stump.

CERTHIADÆ.

Certhia Familiaris. "The Common Creeper." Quite common. Sometimes amongst us called the Treemouse, running round and round the trees and peering into every crevice and nook for its diminutive insect prey. Some years ago a Creeper built its nest in a very curious place in the garden next to mine. The door of a wood-house was kept usually open, and fastened by a catch over the latch against the side of the house, and the little bird chose the latch of the door to form the foundation of its nest. Had the door once been touched of course the whole nest would have been pulled to pieces, but the owners, observing the little bird's labours, were careful to leave it untouched, and it hatched out in safety.

Sitta Europæa. "The Nuthatch." I must say this is one of my favorite birds. It is a lively and indefatigable worker, never still for an instant, and enlivening us continually with its untiring chattering voice. Round and round, and up and down the stems it runs, being apparently up to all occasions and positions in life, and every now and then showing that it knows how to make the best use of every scrap of muscular power that it possesses in its small body, from which many a man might take a useful hint how properly to punish a barter (half-volley) at cricket. Laying firm hold of the bark with its claws, and taking a good purchase with its tail-feathers against the tree, it will put the whole weight of its body into blows which it continues to deal in the most determined manner until it has cracked the nut, or split the piece of wood on which it has set its heart. This little bird has a peculiar habit of plaistering up the hole in the tree which it has fixed on for its nest, with mud, so as only to leave a hole just big enough for itself to enter. Sometimes you may find a considerable space filled up in this way, and which must have caused the little plaisterers much time and trouble to have accomplished.

Upupa Epops. "The Hoopoe." This bird not unfrequently occurs amongst us, and were it not so persistently shot down would no doubt occasionally breed amongst us, but, owing to its beauty and its rarity, directly one appears it is sure to be persecuted until

killed. I have a good many notes of their occurring both here, and all down the Avon Valley, and during this year (1878) there have been several specimens procured round Christchurch. Thus Mr. Hart informs me one was shot at Christchurch, on August 7th; another killed by Hart himself on August 14th; a third was shot on Cranemoor on September 2nd, and a fourth at Longfleet. Besides these specimens others have been killed lately at the undermentioned places: one killed at West Knoyle, in May, 1865, by Mr. Thomas Grey; another, at Breamore, in May, 1869; a third since that date was shot on Mr. Crook's farm at Dean; another, about the same date, at Upton Scudamore; a fifth was shot by Mr. Richard Brine, at Mere, on April 2nd, 1873; while a sixth was picked up dead on Mr. Rawlence's farm, in 1874, one or two of them having been seen together, and fired at, on the Race Plain a day or two previously. There are several other occurrences I could record of these birds, but these are quite sufficient to prove their frequent visits to us. Before I leave them, however, I wish to record an occurrence that was mentioned to me by Mr. Norwood. On Saturday, June 16th, 1877, he informed me that his clerk, W. Holbech, had seen a party of Hoopoes in a withy-bed on the river at Stratford-sub-Castle, some two miles from Salisbury, and on questioning him myself, Holbech told me that he was floating down the river quietly in a boat when his attention was attracted by some birds in an osier bed, that he had never seen before. They were six in number, and appeared to him to be two old birds and four young ones. He kept perfectly quiet, and they allowed him to approach within some ten yards of them. The old birds kept flitting on in front, and every now and then erecting a magnificent crest on their heads, "something like this," as he said, holding up his hand, and dividing his fingers; and the younger birds followed them, picking insects, apparently, off the withies, as they went. He observed them closely for some time, and then, being convinced that they were rare birds, he rowed back at once to Mr. Norwood and begged him at once to bring his gun and try and secure some of them, which, however, he could not do. Norwood at once suspected what the birds were, and taking Morris's Birds, he showed him several other plates first, and then turned to

the Hoopoe, when Holbech at once exclaimed, "That's the bird; there's no doubt of it, that's the bird I saw." The next day they were not, however, to be seen, and nothing more was heard of them, but it is quite possible that they might have been hatched out somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Cuculus Canorus. "The Cuckoo." Very common in the neighbourhood of our water-meadows. On one summer's evening I remember thinking I could detect six birds cuckooing around me at one and the same time. I remember on one occasion hearing their familiar note apparently sounding from the heavens themselves. It was an early day in spring, and, on looking up, I saw at an immeasurable distance above my head three Cuckoos, apparently on their migration flight to our shores, and the first sound of their welcome descending upon me in that unsuspected manner had an indescribably pleasing effect. One of the watermen here tells me he has often found the young Cuckoos in the Reed Warblers' nests, but I have never actually seen one myself in them, although I have taken their eggs frequently from them, and can scarcely understand how such a big bird as a young Cuckoo can possibly support itself in them until it is able to fly. As far as I have noticed, should the Cuckoo lay its egg in any nest before the owner itself has deposited any the nest is generally deserted. I found this so in two cases, in that of a Robin's and a Reed Warbler's, but I do not know whether it is generally so or not.

FISSIROSTRES.

Halcyonidæ.

Alcedo Ispida. "The Kingfisher." This beautiful bird is common in our water-meadows, where I have often seen five or six of a day in the course of a day's Snipe shooting. Mr. Hart tells me in the Christchurch Harbour and district they increase in numbers perceptibly during the winter months, when they are numerous about there. He has one very peculiar specimen in his collection, the entire under-parts from chin to vent being pure white, instead of the usual rich orange colour. In the winter of 1876-77, when the floods were higher in the Avon Valley than they have been for

twenty or thirty years, several dead Kingfishers were picked up in the parish. They appeared to have been starved out of their usual feeding-places, the waters being so swollen and turbid that it was impossible for them to find the small fry on which they feed, or even to know where to look for them. But it was a curious effect for a water-bird to be killed by an excess of water, affording a practical illustration of the old adage, that "you can have too much of a good thing." I once, in our water-meadows, noticed a Kingfisher securing his prey in a very adroit manner. I observed a small bird poising itself in the air some ten or twelve feet from the ground, just in the same way that you may see a Kestrel hovering, and then descending perpendicularly apparently to the earth, as though it were attacking some enemy or prey immediately beneath it. This action it kept on repeating, ascending to the same height again and again, and continuing to make the same bold and downward swoops. On creeping up to a hedge, however, from which I could watch the bird better I saw at once it was a Kingfisher taking splendid headers into a stream, which was hidden from me before, and there being no kind of shrub or perch from which it could watch its finny prey, it was obliged to adopt the method above described, both to see and secure the minnows below it. Its actions reminded me of the bold swoops the Gannet makes, as I have observed them off Portland, as they dash headlong with closed pinions into the surging sea beneath them.

Hirundinidæ.

Hirundo Rustica. "The Swallow." Every one knows and loves "the Swallow twittering in its straw-built shed." The harbinger of summer, and a bird against which not one single bad word can be said; it is, surely, the most harmless and useful of all our summer visitants, and should be protected by every one. A pure white swallow once flew down one of the chimneys at my old home at Wokingham, but I was too young then to understand the rarity of it, and it was not preserved.

Hirundo Urbica. "The Martin." Makes its appearance with us rather earlier than the last species, and is very numerous. There is one favorite house in the parish where you may at times count

forty or fifty of their nests all packed close together. They are sadly persecuted, however, by the House-Sparrows, who will not let them build in peace, but frequently take possession of their nests and turn the original owners out. The Martins, however, are sometimes up to the occasion, and have been known to club together and build the intruder up in his nest, closing up the aperture with mud, and letting him perish miserably in his usurped domain. The plumage of this pretty little bird is very striking, the snow-white of all the under parts, and patch above the tail, contrasting most beautifully with the bright steel-blue of the head and back.

Hirundo Riparia. "The Sand Martin." This little bird is less pleasing in its plumage than all others of the Swallow tribe, but makes up for that by its vivacity and early appearance. In the autumn it assembles in our meadows in countless myriads, roosting in the osier-beds in such numbers that you would think they could scarcely find room to settle. On these occasions you have a very good chance of securing a good specimen of the Hobby, one of which little Falcons is not uncommonly to be seen dashing in amongst them, and securing one or more of them for his supper. It is most curious to listen to the noise which the large flocks of these little birds make just after they have pitched and ere they have settled down for the night. Like the Starlings, they also will have their say out ere they go to sleep; but unlike the chatteration of the Starling roost, you cannot distinguish any single note in their concert. The myriads of little voices all seem to blend into one confused sound, which puts one in mind of the sound of rushing water, or, as it struck me, of an engine blowing off steam; and if you hear the noise without having seen them first pitch, the effect is most curious. You cannot tell where it comes from—now it seems to be in the sky above you, now from the ground beneath you; at one time it would seem to be far off, and now to be close at hand; neither is the riddle solved until, by startling them from their roosting-place, you realise what thousands of little throats have united to form the volume of sound which so perplexed you. They nest very late, their eggs generally not being laid till the July month, when you may find any number of them in their little colonies in some favorite sand-bank.

Cypselus Apus. "The Swift." A bird that rightly earns its name from the velocity of its flight. Renowned as they are for their marvellous power of endurance on the wing, I have more than once picked them up apparently in a state of exhaustion. One of these birds I picked up in our churchyard, unable to move, or make any effort to use its wings, but, after holding it for some time, it all of a sudden gathered itself up and flew away as though there were nothing the matter with it. I once saw a most curious variety of this bird. The whole of the body was pure white, both on its upper and under parts, while the head, tail, and wings were of the usual dusky black. It was flying with a quantity of other Swifts up and down the stream and circling round and round one's head, approaching at times so closely that I almost could reach it with my umbrella, and after watching it for some time I ran off to obtain a gun, asking my wife, who was with me at the time, to watch it till I returned. I did so in a few minutes, hoping to secure my prize, when she exclaimed "There it goes," and sure enough it did go from that moment, and I never saw it again until some six weeks afterwards, when I noticed the same bird close to Salisbury. It would have been worth preserving as it is very unusual to find one of these birds varying from the normal colour. When I was at school at Winchester I remember catching one of these birds in a most peculiar manner. I was out with another boy fishing, and the Swifts were circling round us as they sometimes will, threatening almost at times to fly against you. I had a landing-net in my hand, and, observing one of these birds flying straight at my head, I allowed for the pace at which it was flying, and when a yard or so from me I whisked the net over my head in the same direction in which the bird was flying, and landed him safely; and—if I remember rightly—this was all we did land.

Caprimulgidæ.

Caprimulgus Europæus. "The Night Jar." This interesting bird is not uncommon amongst us, though not, perhaps, very generally known, owing to its retiring habits by day, never showing itself unless disturbed. Their mottled plumage is very pretty, especially

that of the male bird, enlivened as it is by the large round white spot on the outer quills of the wing and tail feathers. I once shot a curious specimen of the bird at Odiham, in Hants, the whole plumage being of a light grey tint. The width of the gape of this bird is something surprising, the little bill itself being not so large as a Robin's, while the gape is large enough to secure within it the largest moths, twelve of which—consisting of Yellow Underwings and similar sorts—I remember extracting from the mouth of one I had shot. I have the notice of one being shot on November 11th, 1875, at Eastleigh Lodge, near Warminster, which is a very late occurrence for it.

Meropidæ.

Coracias Garrula. "The Roller." The last two birds that I have left to mention in the order of the Insessores are both rare stragglers to our shores, showing, by the very brightness of their plumage, that they belong to sunnier climes. Of these "The Roller" stands the first, and I am able to record a fairly recent specimen of this bird, which was killed near Christchurch, on June 16th, 1868. It was stuffed by Hart, and is now in Lord Braybrook's collection. W. Wyndham, Esq., of Dinton, has also a beautiful pair of these birds in his collection, but I cannot claim them as local specimens. Some years back, as Hart informs me, there was one of these birds discovered nailed up on the black board of one of the keepers of the New Forest, who doubtless enrolled it in his imagination as a kind of Jay, and considered it worthy only of the malefactor's gibbet. I am not able to record any further instance of its having been observed lately in the Avon Valley.

Merops Apiaster. "The Bee-eater." The second species of the *Meropidæ* is that of the Bee-eater, another most beautifully-coloured bird, and of which I have a nice specimen in my collection, which was kindly brought me by Colonel Everett from Malta. Hart informs me that Lord Braybrook has two nice pairs of these birds, killed on the estate near Christchurch, but he was not able at the moment to give me the exact date of their capture, which, however, could be obtained if required. There is a nearer occurrence, however,

to be recorded of this species, which happened near Warminster. In May, 1866, a fine male specimen of this bird was shot by a mason named Turner, at Boreham, about a mile from the town above-mentioned. While at his work he observed a pair of these birds playing round an apple tree. He watched them for some time and then ran off to get a gun, and on his return he shot the male bird, which was in beautiful condition, and set up by King, of Warminster. It is still, I believe, in Mr. Turner's possession, who is quite alive to the value to be attached to an English-killed specimen of this rare bird.

With this bird we come to an end of the long list of the Insessores, or Perchers, and I can only hope that this paper may contain interest enough to the lover of birds to cause it not to appear tedious, or spun out to too great a length. I wish I could have adduced more actual and decided proof concerning some of the occurrences mentioned, especially concerning the nesting of the Grey Shrike, and the occurrence of the young Hoopoes. But having personally sifted the matter as closely as I could, and being convinced myself of the truth of the facts, I did not wish to withold the statement of the cases, which were most readily and obligingly given me, and I would here thank all those who have very kindly furnished me with the dates and other circumstances connected with the occurrences mentioned in this paper, without whose assistance it must needs have contained but a very meagre and imperfect list. I would remark that I have noticed some occurrences of our *very rare* birds, which cannot perchance be called strictly local, but with these exceptions I have restricted myself to those happening in the valley of our own river Avon, the mouth of which, at Christchurch, affords such a rich harvest to the ornithologist that it ought not to be omitted. It is there that our migratory birds in many instances first reach our shores from other lands, and where we must perforce go to gather our chief local information concerning the rarer species of the Grallatores and Natatores, consisting of the wading and swimming portion of our indigenous birds.

List of Birds mentioned in the Order of the Insessores, or Perchers.

INSESSORES.
DENTIROSTRES.

			As observed in the district.
	Laniadæ, or Butcher-Birds.		
1.	*Lanius Excubitor,*	"The Great Grey Shrike,"	scarce.
2.	*Lanius Collurio,*	"The Red Backed Shrike,"	common.
3.	*Lanius Rutilus,*	"The Woodchat Shrike,"	rare.
	Muscicapidæ, or Fly-catchers.		
4.	*Muscicapa Grisola,*	"The Spotted Fly-catcher,"	abundant.
5.	*Muscicapa Atricapilla.*	"The Pied Fly-catcher,"	scarce.
	Merulidæ, or Thrushes.		
6.	*Turdus Viscivorus,*	"The Missel Thrush,"	abundant.
7.	*Turdus Musicus,*	"The Song Thrush,"	abundant.
8.	*Turdus Merula,*	"The Blackbird,"	abundant.
9.	*Turdus Pilaris,*	"The Fieldfare,"	common.
10.	*Turdus Iliacus,*	"The Redwing,"	common.
11.	*Turdus Torquatus,*	"The Ring Ouzel,"	occasional.
12.	*Oriolus Galbula,*	"The Golden Oriole,"	rare.
13.	*Cinclus Aquaticus,*	"The Dipper,"	rare.
	Silviadæ, or Warblers.		
14.	*Accentor Modularis,*	"The Hedge Sparrow,"	abundant.
15.	*Sylvia Rubicula,*	"The Robin,"	abundant.
16.	*Saxicola Ænanthe,*	"The Wheat Ear,"	common.
17.	*Saxicola Rubicola,*	"The Stone Chat,"	common.
18.	*Saxicola Rubetra,*	"The Whin Chat,"	common.
19.	*Phœnicura Ruticilla,*	"The Redstart,"	frequent.
20.	*Phœnicura Tithys,*	"The Black Redstart,"	scarce.
21.	*Salicaria Locustella,*	"The Grasshopper Warbler,"	occasional.
22.	*Salicaria Phragmites,*	"The Sedge Warbler,"	common.
23.	*Salicaria Arundinacea,*	"The Reed Warbler,"	common.
24.	*Philomela Luscinia,*	"The Nightingale,"	common.
25.	*Curruca Atricapilla,*	"The Black Cap,"	frequent.
26.	*Curruca Hortensis,*	"The Garden Warbler,"	frequent.
27.	*Curruca cinerea,*	"The Common Whitethroat,"	common.
28.	*Curruca Sylvia,*	"The Lesser Whitethroat,"	frequent.
29.	*Sylvia Dartfordiensis,*	"The Dartford Warbler,"	occasional.
30.	*Sylvia Hippolais,*	"The Chiff Chaff,"	frequent.
31.	*Sylvia Trochilus,*	"The Willow Wren,"	frequent.
32.	*Sylvia Sibilatrix,*	"The Wood Wren,"	scarce.
33.	*Sylvia Auricapilla,*	"The Golden Crested Wren,"	frequent.
34.	*Sylvia Ignicapilla,*	"The Fire Crested Wren,"	rare.
35.	*Sylvia Troglodytes,*	"The Wren,"	abundant.

PARIDÆ, or TITMICE.

36.	*Parus Major,*	"The Greater Titmouse,"	abundant.
37.	*Parus Cæruleus,*	"The Blue Titmouse,"	abundant.
38.	*Parus Ater,*	"The Cole Titmouse,"	common.
39.	*Parus Palustris,*	"The Marsh Titmouse,"	frequent.
40.	*Parus Caudatus,*	"The Long-tailed Titmouse,"	common.
41.	*Parus cristatus,*	"The Crested Titmouse,"	rare.
42.	*Parus Biarmicus,*	"The Bearded Titmouse,"	rare.

MOTACILLIDÆ or WAGTAILS.

43.	*Motacilla Lotor,*	"The Pied Wagtail,"	abundant.
44.	*Motacilla alba,*	"The White Wagtail,"	rare.
45.	*Motacilla Boarula,*	"The Grey Wagtail,"	common.
46.	*Motacilla Rayi,*	"Ray's Wagtail,"	common.
47.	*Motacilla Flava,*	"The Blue Headed Wagtail,"	rare.

ANTHIDÆ or PIPITS.

48.	*Anthus Pratensis,*	"The Meadow Pipit,"	abundant.
49.	*Anthus Arboreus,*	"The Tree Pipit,"	common.
50.	*Anthus Ricardi,*	"Richard's Pipit,"	occasional.
51.	*Anthus Petrosus,*	"The Rock Pipit,"	occasional.
52.	*Anthus Campestris,*	"The Tawny Pipit,"	occasional.

CONIROSTRES.

ALAUDIDÆ, or LARKS.

53.	*Alauda Arvensis,*	"The Sky Lark,"	abundant.
54.	*Alauda Arborea,*	"The Wood Lark,"	frequent.
55.	*Alauda Alpestris,*	"The Shore Lark,"	scarce.

EMBERIZIDÆ, or BUNTINGS.

56.	*Plectrophanes Nivalis,*	"The Snow Bunting,"	scarce.
57.	*Emberiza Miliaria,*	"The Corn Bunting,"	common.
58.	*Emberiza Citrinella,*	"The Yellow Hammer,"	abundant.
59.	*Emberiza Cirlus,*	"The Cirl Bunting,"	frequent.
60.	*Emberiza Schæniculus,*	"The Reed Bunting,"	common.
61.	*Plectrophanes Lapponica,*	"The Lapland Bunting,"	rare.

FRINGILLIDÆ, or FINCHES.

62.	*Passer Domesticus,*	"The House Sparrow,"	abundant.
63.	*Passer Montanus,*	"The Tree Sparrow,"	occasional.
64.	*Fringilla Cælebs,*	"The Chaffinch,"	abundant.
65.	*Fringilla Montifringilla,*	"The Brambling,"	occasional.
66.	*Carduelis Spinus,*	"The Siskin,"	occasional.
67.	*Carduelis Elegans,*	"The Goldfinch,"	frequent.
68.	*Linaria Cannabina,*	"The Linnet,"	abundant.
69.	*Linaria Montana,*	"The Twite,"	occasional.
70.	*Linaria Minor,*	"The Redpole,"	occasional.
71.	*Linaria Borealis,*	"The Mealy Redpole,"	scarce.
72.	*Coccothraustes Vulgaris,*	"The Hawfinch,"	frequent.
73.	*Coccothraustes Chloris*	"The Greenfinch,"	abundant.
74.	*Pyrrhula Vulgaris,*	"The Bulfinch,"	common.

75.	*Pyrrhula Enucleator*,	"The Pine Bulfinch,"	rare.
76.	*Loxia Curvirostra*,	"The Crossbill,"	occasional.

Ampelidæ, or Waxwings.

77.	*Ampelis Garrulus*,	"The Bohemian Waxwing,"	rare.

Sturnidæ, or Starlings.

78.	*Sturnus Vulgaris*,	"The Starling,"	abundant.
79.	*Pastor Roseus*,	"The Rose coloured Pastor,"	rare.

Corvidæ, or Crows.

80.	*Corvus Corax*,	"The Raven,"	occasional.
81.	*Corvus Corone*,	"The Crow,"	common.
82.	*Corvus Cornix*,	"The Hooded Crow,"	occasional.
83.	*Corvus Frugilegus*,	"The Rook,"	abundant.
84.	*Corvus Monedula*,	"The Jackdaw,"	abundant.
85.	*Corvus Pica*,	"The Magpie,"	common.
86.	*Fregilus Graculus*,	"The Tke Chough,"	scarce.
87.	*Garrulus Glandarius*,	"The Jay,"	common.
88.	*Nucifraga Caryocatactes*,	"The Nutcracker,"	rare.

SCANSORES.

Picidæ, or Woodpeckers.

89.	*Picus Marticus*,	"The Great Black Woodpecker,"	rare.
90.	*Picus Viridis*,	"The Green Woodpecker,"	frequent.
91.	*Picus Major*,	"The Greater Spotted Woodpecker,"	occasional.
92.	*Picus Minor*,	"The Lesser Spotted Woodpecker,"	frequent.
93.	*Yunx Torquilla*,	"The Wryneck,"	frequent.

Certhiadæ, or Creepers.

94.	*Certhia Familiaris*,	"The Tree Creeper,"	common.
95.	*Sitta Europæa*,	"The Nuthatch,"	common.
96.	*Upupa Epops*,	"The Hoopoe,"	occasional.
97.	*Cuculus Canorus*,	"The Cuckoo,"	common.

FISSIROSTRES.

Halcyonidæ, or Kingfishers.

98.	*Alcedo Ispida*,	"The Kingfisher,"	frequent.

Hirundinidæ, or Swallows.

99.	*Hirundo Rustica*,	"The Swallow,"	abundant.
100.	*Hirundo Urbica*,	"The Martin,"	abundant.
101.	*Hirundo Riparia*,	"The Sand Martin,"	abundant.
102.	*Cypselus Apus*,	"The Swift,"	abundant.

Caprimulgidæ, or Nightjars.

103.	*Caprimulgus Europæus*,	"The Nightjar,"	frequent.

Meropidæ, or Bee-eaters.

104.	*Coracias Garrula*,	"The Roller,"	rare.
105.	*Merops Apiaster*,	"The Bee-eater,"	rare.

A Sketch of the Parish of Yatesbury.[1]

By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A. *(Rector)*.

Introduction.

I DO not think there could have been found a more retired village in the county of Wilts a hundred years ago than the village of Yatesbury. It may, indeed, with truth be said that it is retired enough now, but compared to what it was a century ago, it is now quite in the world. Of late years Imber, on Salisbury Plain, has claimed this distinction, and asserted its rights in the well-known couplet :—

"Imber on the down,
Four miles from any town,"

and in truth Imber has had some qualifications for this post of honour, inasmuch as it was not, until quite recently, approachable by a hard road: and that means, that so far as carriages with springs are concerned, it was isolated throughout the winter at least, cut off from the rest of mankind, and dependent on its own resources for its budget of news.

But a hundred years ago neither had Yatesbury any hard road leading to it: and inasmuch as its population was one third less than that of Imber, it is clear that it had so much fewer resources

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[1] Having been appointed in 1862, by our late revered diocesan, "Good" Bishop Hamilton, as Secretary to the Parochial History scheme, which was instituted under his auspices for this diocese, and having been re-appointed to the same office by our present Bishop, I have, in pursuing my duty, been not unfrequently met with the remark from Incumbents of our smaller rural parishes, that in their insignificant villages there was really *nothing* to record; and I have been oftentimes invited to lead the way, by publishing some account of my own little parish. It is then with the hope that others may follow in writing down all they can discover of the past and present history of their several villages, that I have ventured to print these scanty records of one of the smallest, humblest, and most retired parishes on the Wiltshire downs.

within itself to fall back upon; and I therefore venture to assert that a hundred years ago Yatesbury was pre-eminent in this respect of isolation.

It may here occur to some of my readers that any reference to a parish only a hundred years ago deserves no place in an archæological magazine: why it is but the other day, in the lifetime of our grandfathers! it is a tale of quite modern times! there cannot be much difference between a date so recent and the present day! But here I venture to reply that such objectors scarcely realize what the absence of a hard road to a village means. If I do not very much mistake, it means complete banishment from the rest of the world for a very large portion of the year: it means inaccessibility to any vehicle with springs for many consecutive months at least, if not altogether: and, therefore, not only is it unapproachable from without by the world in general; but to the majority of its inhabitants there was no escape from it, and only those who had means to ride on horseback or on pillion, or had strength to wade through the deep mud of the lanes on foot, could leave their village home through the entire winter.[1]

Under these circumstances there must have been a considerable stagnation of intelligence. The inhabitants would live in a world of their own, absorbed in their own and their neighbours' every-day affairs, concentrating all their hopes and fears and desires in the local trifles of the village, and making their own parish the focus of their political world. With their daily thoughts thus running in a circle—and a very confined circle, too—there could not have been much scope for the expansion of the mind. Rumours from without would doubtless arrive from time to time, more or less perverted from the real facts to which they referred: exaggerated

[1] Even so lately as twenty-five years ago the labouring classes in this parish had become almost rooted to the spot, the women more especially seldom left their homes except to work in the fields, and several of the elder women assured me they had never been so far as Devizes in their lives. That was before the passion for roaming and for change, now so prevalent among all classes, had seized upon the people, a passion doubtless aroused by facilities of locomotion through the introduction of railroads; but whether it is a taste which conduces to their real happiness admits—as I think—of considerable doubt.

rumours of actual occurrences, passing through many mouths, would reach the ears of these isolated villagers in anything but their original truth; and we may conceive what a strange and ridiculous mass of fiction, the offspring of ignorance, exaggeration, and superstition, must have circulated amongst the unsophisticated inhabitants of our village: and when news of even the greatest events at length reached the parish, there was doubtless a large admixture of addition, springing from the fancy of the relater, or a dilution of the original circumstance: moreover the gravest occurrences to the welfare of the State may probably have taken place many weeks before tidings of them would have reached our retired village.[1]

There is a story told of a solitary inhabitant of a little island in the Baltic, who resigned himself every autumn, when the ice began to accumulate, to a lonely life of six months' isolation from the rest of mankind, till the thaw set in and opened a communication for him with the outer world, in the spring. What his employment was, and why he shut himself up alone, I have forgotten: but the point which impressed itself on my mind was that this recluse was a great politician, and liked to read the papers every day, and know what was going on in the world: but, inasmuch as he was cut off for six good months and more from his supply of newspapers, he adopted the remarkable device of putting himself back just one year behind the rest of the world; and so he could take with him to his winter quarters all the journals of the previous twelve-months, and when November the first came, he would open the paper with that date on the top, regardless of the figures which followed it, and revel in the news of the day; and so on with each subsequent day throughout the winter: and what mattered it to him that the occurrences therein recorded had happened just one year before? he had his news and enjoyed it, and what harm if he was just one year in arrear of the rest of mankind?

[1] During a three months' tour in the interior of Norway in 1850, when that primitive country was almost unknown to the British tourist, and internal communication was of the most limited order, as soon as I had left the capital, I was wholly cut off from all letters and newspapers for many weeks, and the great loss which England sustained in the death of Sir Robert Peel was not known to me until two months after the sad accident occurred.

Not quite so far behind in the news of the day, were the inhabitants of our village a hundred years ago. And yet, with a post which irregularly brought the letters—if there chanced to be any for the parish—once or twice a week: without any newspaper, for such an article seldom came into the village; indeed, with very few of the inhabitants able to read, for no sort of school had ever existed there, it may be imagined that our parish was a little behindhand. The farmers indeed cultivated the soil on the old-fashioned system, and the labourers ploughed the land with their slow-paced oxen, spent the livelong winter in the barns, laboriously threshing with the flail, mowed the grass, and reaped the corn by hand, before steam engines and reaping-machines were invented, and plodded on in the slow old-world fashion now altogether out of date. So far, however, they were pursuing the same course as others all around them, and probably, from the excellent wheat-producing quality of the land, secured at least as heavy crops as any of their neighbours. But in carrying their corn to market, they had to contend against a real dificulty: for how were the loaded waggons to be dragged through the muddy lanes? There is, however (says Sancho Panza), "a remedy for every evil;" and patience overcomes all difficulties; so the method pursued was to convey to the hard turnpike road, through the mile-and-a-quarter of mud which intervened, first the market-waggon, to be there loaded, and then—in not by any means flying detachments—the sacks of corn which were to compose the load; and six or eight horses could haul through the deepest ruts only a few sacks at a time.

Here then we have a sample of the difficulties of transport between our retired village and the outer world. Necessity being the mother of invention, our village was doubtless in the main self-supporting: wood was universally burnt in the farmhouse and straw in the cottage,[1] for

[1] Even within the last thirty years, straw tied into knots was often burnt on the cottage hearths, and quite recently ovens were universally heated with it. This was a remnant of the good old times, when the villagers were allowed to take it home from the yards for these purposes; in the days before straw began to be appreciated as it now is, and when it was comparatively valueless in the eyes of its owner.

coal would have been by no means procurable: home-baked bread was the universal rule of the parish: home-brewed beer was, until recently, manufactured, not only in the farms, but in the cottages; and the knitting of woollen stockings and the plaiting of straw for hats and bonnets, were two employments for which our village was notorious, even till within the last twenty years, when machine-made articles rendered such handiwork unremunerative, and completely drove the straw-plaiter at least out of the market.

Situation.

With this preliminary introduction of our retired village and of life therein a hundred years ago, I proceed now to treat of some of its individual characteristics, and first its situation.

The parish of Yatesbury lies at the height of 536 feet above the sea,[1] on the broad plateau of the Marlborough Downs which stretches eastwards from the top of Cherhill Hill to the foot of Hackpen. It is true there is a very slight dip on this table-land, extending through its whole length, into which the fields on both sides drain, so that quite a respectable stream[2] runs during the winter months right through the parish from west to east, towards Abury, enriching the land, and forming a long succession of water-meadows; though during the height of summer it generally exhibits a perfectly dry water-course, an Indian *nullah*, in fact, in miniature, to compare small things with great. In this depression—if so flat a surface deserves the name—lies the parish of Yatesbury: in shape not unlike a conical helmet with horse-hair plume depending behind, for it rises to a point like a sugar-loaf at the north, and at the south-east corner depends a long narrow strip, some half-mile in extent,

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[1] I speak with confidence on this point, inasmuch as my friend Colonel Ward on one occasion brought the well-known meteorologist, Mr. Symonds, and a whole army of aneroids, to test our exact height above the sea.

[2] This is indeed one of the real sources of the Kennet, which rises in Highway Field, one mile north of Yatesbury; the other source being in Winterbourne Bassett, three miles or more to the east: both unite at Abury, and flow to Swallow-head, south of Silbury, the reputed and very picturesque, but not actual, source of the Kennet, though the springs there are abundant and largely increase the infant river.

which runs over the crest of Cherhill Hill, and down into the valley below, the lower part of which is the only portion of down land in the parish.

Yatesbury is bounded by Abury on the east, Cherhill on the south, Compton Basset on the west, Highway and Hilmarton on the north-west, and Winterbourne Monkton and Berwick Bassett on the north-east. Though apparently on table land, and actually in a very insignificant depression, which is scarcely perceptible unless on a close scrutiny, Yatesbury lies at a considerably lower level than Broad Hinton,[1] to which the land very gradually rises in an almost continuous though gentle ascent of some four miles to the north: but it stands somewhat higher than Abury, from which it is distant three miles to the west, and which, lying on the same plateau, is visible from the whole parish, together with the long range of Hackpen beyond it, stretching across the eastern horizon as far as Barbury Camp. Then, while five miles from its post and market town—the ancient and loyal borough of Calne—Yatesbury claims the distinguished honour of being equidistant from the four largest towns of North Wilts, Swindon on the north, Devizes on the south, Marlborough on the east, and Chippenham on the west; and though it is true they are somewhat too distant for constant communication, being each nine miles off as the crow flies, it is not to be denied that with respect to position, and in reference to the most important towns of North Wiltshire, Yatesbury is a remarkably *central* spot!

The area of the parish is small, comprising only 1667 acres: the gross estimated rental standing at £2780 2*s*. 10*d*., and the rateable value at £2502 18*s*. 4*d*. The general character of the land is the broad open down, which has been long since reclaimed and brought into cultivation, for the soil—chalk and clay—is heavy and productive and notoriously good for wheat crops. By far the greater part of

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[1] Broad Hinton stands higher than any other village on these downs, indeed may well be called the watershed of our district; inasmuch as the springs which rise to the south flow to the Kennet and so to the Thames, while those which rise to the north flow into the Avon and so into the Bristol Channel. Stukeley says "the country here is very high though not appearing so to be: they pretend 'tis the highest ground in England." ("Abury described," page 18.)

the parish is under the plough,[1] and—in common with the great bulk of this part of the county—the great expanse of cornfields is unbroken by trees or hedges. This is more especially the case in the southern and eastern parts of the parish: but northwards, though the fields are large, they are usually divided by hedges. Almost all trees thrive here luxuriantly, but the beech is *par excellence* the tree of the district: it seizes so firm a hold of the ground that it is seldom blown down in the fierce hurricanes we often experience from the south-west, and as it often retains its leaves through the winter, it forms a valuable protection from the cutting blasts, which at times roar over our exposed downs with amazing force. Evergreens, too, take kindly to our heavy retentive soil; and the yew, the holly, the box, and the laurel flourish with remarkable vigour. The Scotch fir, again, grows well here and is most valuable for shelter, while the spruce fir seems scarcely able to stand the buffetings it meets with, and the larch, when arrived at a certain size, invariably becomes stag-headed, and declines.

So retentive is the clay which overlies the chalk that the drier the summer, the better are our crops of corn; and that, notwithstanding our broad fields have little shade or shelter, but are exposed to all the evaporating influence of the sun: not so, however, our grass lands, which need copious rains throughout the spring and summer, and are never so productive of hay as after a dripping season.

For the most part our wells provide ample supplies of excellent water: they are very deep, never less than sixty, oftener eighty feet, sometimes—as in the case of the rectory well—one hundred and twenty feet, and even—in the case of a well I had occasion

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[1] At a rough computation the following are about the relative proportions:—

Arable	1175	acres.
Pasture	410	„
Down	16	„
Woods and Plantations	14	„
Homesteads and Gardens	20	„
Roads and Lanes	32	„
Total	1667	„

to sink for a cottage on the glebe—one hundred and forty feet. Still, during a dry summer, water becomes very scarce in our parish: the stream which runs through the winter entirely fails: the wells gradually diminish their supply, till they are exhausted altogether: the ponds dry up, and in exceptionally parched seasons, the fetching of water in water-carts for the supply of men and animals is a very toilsome as well as expensive business. Here, however, the "dew-ponds," as they are called, prove their value, and notwithstanding the strong and scientific evidence brought to bear against them, I cannot but accept the assurance of those practical men, whose own senses convince them that these exposed ponds on the tops of the hills, and into which no water can run from the surrounding ground, do, in dry weather, continue to afford drink to the sheep, and keep up their supply; nightly fed—as I believe—by the heavy dews, vapours, or mists which hover over and replenish them.

Notwithstanding the undoubted cold, Yatesbury is a remarkably healthy spot; the fresh air blowing over the downs, and bearing much resemblance to the sea breeze, is so pure and invigorating, that it drives away many complaints to which more sheltered districts are exposed, and fevers are altogether unknown in our parish: indeed "chills" and "rheumatics" are nearly the only maladies prevalent amongst our villagers. Thus, if our situation is somewhat bleak and exposed, we have no slight compensation in the general immunity from epidemics which we enjoy. I know not if there is any truth in the belief commonly held by nurses, that to breathe the air of a sheepfold is most conducive to the health of children: but if so, then that may partly account for our general salubrity, inasmuch as large flocks of sheep constitute the principal live-stock of the parish, and give constant employment to many of our people.

With regard to temperature and rainfall, though I took regular memoranda of maximum and minimum thermometers, aneroid readings, and rain-guage for several years, I refrain from giving any averages, feeling assured that such are of no value, indeed only mislead, unless they are the result of observations protracted over a long series of years. In proof of the great variations experienced in

certain seasons, I may mention that in 1872 my rain-guage measured 47 inches, in lieu of the 26 or 27 inches which was more commonly our usual fall of rain. I may also mention that during the period of my observation my thermometers have ranged over no less than one hundred degrees, the maximum having risen to the extraordinary height of 96° on the fourteenth of August, 1867; and the minimum having on Christmas Eve 1859, fallen to the no less remarkable depth of 4° below zero (Fahrenheit). Both thermometers were in an open exposed spot, in a regular "Glaisher" thermometer stand, the bulbs of the thermometers exposed to currents of air while protected from the sun, and at the orthodox height of four feet from the ground. Such excessive readings prove how little reliable are the averages taken even from the most accurate observations, unless they are extended over a very long period of time: I would mention, however, in regard to the rainfall, that I incline to the opinion that Yatesbury is not a very rainy spot, inasmuch as the heavy clouds which come up from the west appear oftentimes to divide at Chippenham, part following the course of the Pewsey vale and part passing on towards Wootton Bassett and Swindon. Neither do I think that the thermometer for the most part sinks so low in severe frosts as in the neighbouring parishes which lie below the hill, and this notwithstanding our elevation and exposure to cold winds: but then I attribute this immunity from severe frost to the greater dryness of the soil, which is in great measure the effect of such exposure: certain it is that we are oftentimes left unscathed, when our neighbours are lamenting the loss of their evergreens under a more than ordinary frost.

Roads and Lanes.

In regard to roads, of which I have said there were none in the parish one hundred years ago, if there were no hard roads, there were plenty of soft lanes: and these, diverging in every direction, are even puzzling to the stranger from their number, and are pleasant enough in the summer months; while as sheep-droves they are invaluable to the farmer: and who—more especially amongst huntsmen —does not know the lane, originally marked on the maps as "Corten

Laines," but now yclept *par excellance,* "Yatesbury Lane," which stretches away due north for several miles in a direct line, and which possesses more bottomless sloughs and more deep tenacious clinging mud than you shall find in a winter day's journey elsewhere? Not however that the parish is altogether destitute of hard roads in these days of improvement. You may see no less than six stoned roads diverging on all sides from our village, like the six legs of an insect; this is the result of doing a little—a few yards at a time—year by year, to the improvement of our roads by stoning them: but then at a short distance from the village they all end in soft muddy lanes, so that with the single exception of the one hard road which joins the turnpike-road on the south there is no entrance or exit for wheels to or from the village,[1] and we are in so effectual a *cul de sac* that every carriage or cart which enters our village, must perforce—except in very dry summers—return by the same route, there being no hard thoroughfare leading through the parish in any direction.

But Yatesbury, though behindhand in regard to roads of its own, has from the earliest times of which we have any record, been singularly situated in regard to its vicinity to great thoroughfares through the country. Thus the famous "*British Trackway*" having crossed the vale of Pewsey by Honey *Street,* ascended the downs at Alton, traversed the village of Kennet and mounted Overton Hill, winds along the brow of Hackpen, within sight of our village, and within four miles on the east: a trackway much used by smugglers in past years, who managed by this unfrequented route to convey vast quantities of contraband goods from the southern coast into the heart of the country; and which, within very recent times, until turnpikes were abolished, was as much traversed by drovers and others, who would thus save the tolls they would go any distance to avoid. Again the "*Roman Road,*" following a direct course from *Verlucio* (Wans) to *Cunetio* (Marlborough) strikes along the side of

[1] There does however occur from time to time, some reckless driver, who regardless of the springs of his cart, or of the strain on his horses, will plough through the deep mud of our lanes in the winter; but when he reaches the village, his equipage generally presents an appearance suggestive of warning rather than of encouragement to follow his example.

the downs, and passes within two miles of Yatesbury on the south: and as this was one of the great arteries of the kingdom, connecting the west with all other parts, in the admirable net-work system by which the rulers of the world knew how to ensure communication, when required, with every part of the province, those who lived within easy reach of it must have had some experience of the manners and customs of their civilized rulers. Then, to come to more modern times, the old London and Bath Road ran along the ridge of the hill from Beckhampton towards Calne; and when, about eighty years ago, it was altered, and brought down to its present position, on a lower level, it only advanced nearer to Yatesbury, and just before the introduction of railroads, to such a prodigious extent had the traffic increased on this road, that a perpetual stream of communication was always pouring along between the West of England and the capital; and a constant succession of stage-coaches, post-chaises, fly-waggons and heavy wains passed day and night, and all within sight of our village: though it was only now and then, when a more than common snow-drift had blocked the road, and effaced all land-marks, that a coach has been known to flounder so far out of the road as Yatesbury, a circumstance which served the gossips of the village with an anecdote never to be forgotten, and which they are never tired of repeating, and to which I have patiently listened over and over again.

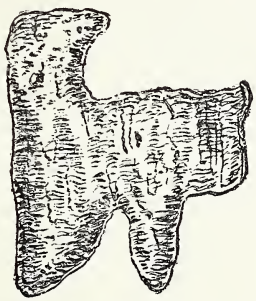
Antiquities.

Retired however and secluded though our village in all historical times must have been, it would in very early ages have been by no means unknown, from its proximity to the famous Temple of Abury; and when the multitudes who flocked together and thronged the great bank of the enclosure to witness the spectacles or the rites celebrated within the mystic circle (whatever and whenever those rites or spectacles may have been), it is only reasonable to suppose that the adjacent villages would be frequented by the multitudes on their way to and from, if not during the ceremonies at which they assisted: in short, Yatesbury, some 2000 or 3000 years ago, was not improbably, a kind of ecclesiastical suburb to its noted and

much-thronged neighbour. Midway between the two villages, skeletons have, within the last few years, been from time to time met with by labourers digging post-holes in the open ground, where no vestige of a grave marked the interment: and only three years since two large sarsen stones lying one upon another, just below the surface, and which endangered the ploughshare, were removed, and these—we may conjecture—would indicate the burial of one more honoured than common. Other vestiges of that early British period we have in four large barrows, one in the centre of the village, another within the village at the south-east, and two outside the village, to the east, near the lane leading to Abury, universally known as "Barrow-way." There are also several earthworks of unknown origin, to wit, on the north-west of the village, in a field called Cow-Leaze, a very small square enclosure, from which on three sides long lines of banks diverge to a considerable distance: and near the bottom of the village—the "Street," as it is called here—there is much broken irregular ground, trenches more or less deep and important, with mounds in correspondence. In reference to this broken ground, Dean Merewether suggested—though there is not a scrap of evidence to countenance any such supposition—that "it is not impossible that a detachment of forces, in their march previous to the battle of Roundway Hill, near Devizes, may have halted here, and thrown up a hasty earthwork for their defence during the night, although [he adds] the general unevenness in question cannot be thus accounted for."[1] I would venture to submit, that if such was the origin of the earthworks, it was more probably at a period some two thousand years or more before the battle of Roundway. All the barrows in the parish were opened and the earthworks examined by Dr. Merewether, then Dean of Hereford, when he was superintending in 1849 the driving a tunnel into the heart of Silbury, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute, then holding its annual meeting at Salisbury; and a full account of them and the results of their explorations was given in the Salisbury volume of that society. The

[1] Salisbury volume of Archæological Institute, on examination of barrows and earthworks near Silbury, page 95.

barrow first opened was that in the centre of the village, close to the house of Mr. Tuckey, but "it did not produce any indications of former sepulture, except fragments of charcoal, and something like the oxidation of iron. It was composed of a close clayey soil, very different from the material of the barrows on the hills, as were all the four examined here. In the second mound"—for so the Dean called these two, doubting if they were barrows—situated in the village, at the south-east corner, "the attack was made from the side by way of trench, on account of the size and the top being covered by a clump of fir trees. Many bones, of the ox probably and smaller animals, the hare in particular, one or two pieces of corroded iron and a part of the wards of a key[1] were found; but no



Wards of a key, found in a barrow at Yatesbury.

sepulchral deposit, although the trench was carried into the centre."

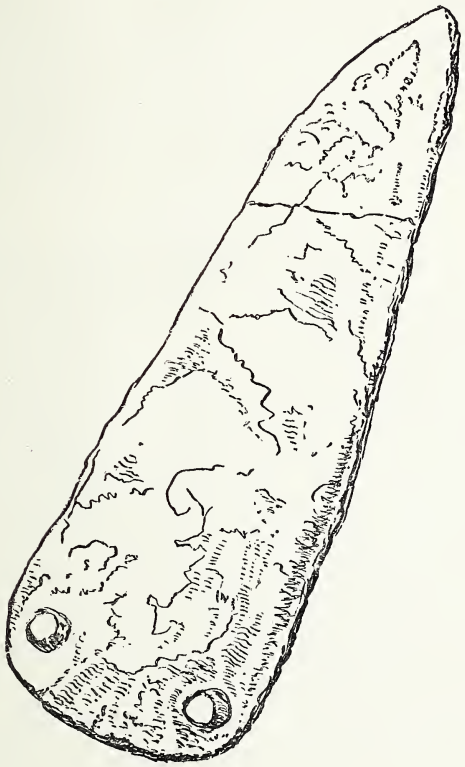
The two barrows in "Barrow Field" were then attacked, with anticipations the most encouraging, as they were distinguished by traditions which ranked them highly in the estimation of the inhabitants: moreover a few hundred yards to the south-east of these barrows, in a field called Foxbury, the termination of which word perhaps denoted the existence of some earthwork which has disappeared before the plough, various Roman coins from Trajan to

[1] Figured under the letter S in the Salisbury volume of the Institute, and reproduced here by permission.

Valens had recently been found. Both barrows had been about twenty feet high, and their bases were still of an extent to admit of such a proportionate height. The man who had been employed to lower them sixteen years before gave the following account as to the first of the two which we examined, being that towards Abury. He said, he had "cut it down a matter of nine feet, throwing the earth over the sides. There was a little box of metal three inches long: it had a lid at one end, and a chain fixed in the middle, and it had been fastened to the end where it opened: it was round. About a yard deep, there were three beads—*terra cotta,* one was produced—as big as his finger round; a knife fit to stick a pig, and two skeletons lying at full length." At a depth of eight feet in this barrow, we came to a large quantity of very black substance, like charcoal, or rather burnt straw, numerous bits of bone of the various kinds, fragments of pottery, &c., and a large cist containing a considerable quantity of burnt human bones. The closeness of the soil of which these barrows were formed, and the depth to which it was necessary to descend, precluded the Dean from reaching the bottom of the other barrow, but the following day, under the superintendence of the Rector of the parish—the Rev. J. S. Money-Kyrle—the workmen came to a layer of the black substance, burnt straw apparently, and below that to a most curious deposit, a cist, at the depth of eight feet, formed at the level of the adjoining land, containing an unusual quantity of burnt human bones. These had been deposited in the hollow of a tree, and a piece of the cleft wood, the side of the tree, had been placed over it. From the peculiar clayey and damp quality of the earth, it was so greatly decayed, that it might be difficult to determine its former substance, although it appeared, by the remains of fibres, and lines of the grain of the wood, to have been oak: the wood was four feet long by two-and-a-half broad, and eighteen inches thick, being reduced in places by compression. About the middle of this, on the apex of the mass of bones, and beneath the wooden cover, lay a bronze blade of a hunting spear:[1] the two rivets which had fixed it to the staff remained in

[1] Figured under the letter T in the Salisbury volume of the Institute, and reproduced here by permission.

their respective holes, but the metal, from the extreme moisture of the situation, had become oxydised throughout, and when dried extremely brittle and friable; it was four-and-a-half inches in length and one-and-a-half inch in breadth at the broadest part."[1]



Blade of a hunting spear, found in a barrow at Yatesbury.

In addition to these records of the contents of our barrows, Stukeley gives the following account of previous successful openings here: "Mr. Bray of Monkton open'd a barrow, among many others,

[1] Salisbury volume of Institute, page 97.

at Yatesbury. There was a great stone laid at top, just under the surface. When taken up, they found a body laid in a stone coffin, form'd by several stones. He says, in another they found a body, with a flat gold ring, which was sold for 30*s.*, and a piece of brass, about the bulk of a pint mug, with spear-heads of iron."

The only other relics of past time which—so far as I know—have been found at Yatesbury, are some encaustic tiles discovered in the churchyard, and a quarry of stained glass, bearing the arms of Fettiplace, from a window in the old rectory, which were exhibited by Mr. C. May, of Marlborough, at the temporary museum formed in that town during the meeting of the Society there in 1859.[1]

Name.

With regard to the name of Yatesbury, I have in the course of years listened to an immense amount of learned disquisition, positive assurances, unhesitating assertions, and bold conclusions about it; much of which would have been very admirable and very edifying, if it had not proceeded from a wrong basis, and so been altogether wide of the mark. Thus I have heard a great deal about the meaning of "Yat" or "Yate," as being identical with *gate*; and I have been assured that our village was once a fortified town, with gates to defend the approaches; while of course the termination *bury* —which everybody knows frequently denotes a place of defence or a fortress—triumphantly vindicates such a conclusion![2] It is really ludicrous to think how our poor little retired roadless village should be thus lifted from its humble state and dignified as once a fortified gated town! it is not more ridiculous than wide of the mark; because there is not the smallest ground for any such fancy, and it would be well if, before people begin to investigate the meaning of a name, they would first ascertain accurately what the word which they are about to examine really is.

Yatesbury then, as it is now called, though often corrupted in

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[1] *Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 259.

[2] See Hoare's Ancient Wilts—North, p. 53.

vulgar parlance into *Yatsbury*; *Yeatesbury* as it was in 1700; *Yeattisburye* in 1553, when an inventory of Church goods was made throughout the county; but *Yatesbury*, just as it is spelt now, in the ninth year of King Edward II., A.D. 1316; *Zatesbury*,[1] *Jetesbury*, *Hyatebiri*, *Sitesburi*, *Yactebury*, *Yattesbury*,[2] as it has been variously written; was in Domesday book put down as *Etesberie*; and as we have no historical record of the name prior to A.D. 1086, we can push our enquiries no farther, and must therefore be content to accept this as the earliest name for it we know. It is true that when we see *Etesberie and Yatesbury* printed side by side, there certainly seems a wide divergence between them: but when a Wiltshireman comes to pronounce them with the addition of the initial y before a vowel—and especially before the vowel a—in which the true Wiltshireman specially delights,[3] the ear of the listener will detect but a very slight variation, and whether it be written Etesberie, Zatesbury, Jetesbury, Yeatesburye, or otherwise, Yatesbury will be very nearly the true pronunciation in the mouth of a native. But when we desire to pull the word to pieces in search of its meaning, and for this purpose of dissection trace out the original name as far as we can, we find we have nothing to do with gates or fortified places, but are confronted with the word *Etesberie*: what then does that name signify? To begin with the latter part of the word, which is clear enough; *berie* signifies in Anglo-Saxon "a large open field," "a flat plain," or "a wide champaign"[4]: and *berie*-meadows have been interpreted as "demesne or manor meadows, thence any flat or open meadows that lay adjoining to any vill or farm": and surely no word could more accurately describe the exact appearance of the district around Yatesbury that this: inasmuch as broad flat

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[1] *Zate* was another ancient spelling for *gate*. See Promptuarium Parvulorum.

[2] Canon Jackson's Aubrey, page 46. Canon Jones' Names of Places, *Magazine*, xiv., 276.

[3] "Gie I a yapple," said one boy to another in my hearing, not long since. "I sprained my yarm," said a parishioner to me the other day. "I yast un [asked him] when er would return," said a third: but these are only samples of every-day conversation in Wiltshire.

[4] *Magazine*, xiv., pp. 255, 276; xv., p. 77.

open meadows extend on all sides of our village for a considerable distance. But in regard to the first portion of our name, I must own that there is no such ready solution to be offered, and so I can but give the opinions of some who have interested themselves in the enquiry. It is now more than twenty years since the late Mr. Richard Falkner, of Devizes—who will long be remembered for his philological and antiquarian research, as well as for the courtesy and modesty with which he imparted the information he had gained—corresponded with me on this question. He owned that he had "not succeeded in finding any Anglo-Saxon word that would explain the meaning of the first part of *Etes*berie, though he felt no doubt that it had some signification characteristic of the place, which distinguished it from other *beries* or *burys*, such as Abury, Silbury, Chidbury, the prefix of some of which is well understood." In a subsequent letter Mr. Falkner observed that as the village of Yatton (*Etone* or *Getone* in Domesday) became Gatton and Yatton, so Etesberie had become Yatesbury, and *Yeat* or *Geat*—for the letters *y* and *g* in Anglo-Saxon are interchangeable [1]—may have constituted the first portion of the word; but then he disclaimed all signification of *gates* in regard both to Yatton and to Yatesbury, and suggested that possibly *gat* (goat) may be the origin of the name, perhaps signifying that it was a place where those animals were kept in such numbers as to give it the designation, as *Goathurst* and *Goathill* in Somerset, and *Goatacre*, near Hilmarton, in this county. Mr. Falkner afterwards suggested that our village may have derived its name from the Geats, Ytas, or Jutes, who were the first to visit the South of England, after the Romans had finally retired from it, A.D. 449; and that one colony may have settled at Yatton and another at Yatesbury. Others have maintained that *geat*, *yeat*, or *yate* (the old pronunciation of our modern *gate* [2]) is the true origin of the name of our village, not at all however with the modern sense

[1] In English words directly formed from the Anglo-Saxon, g is often changed into y, as *gear*=year: *dæg*=day: *dagas*=days: *gea*=yea (yes): *gearn*=yarn: *gealew*=yellow.

[2] Spenser wrote *yate* for gate: and *yeates* is the reading for gates in an old document bearing date A. D. 1551, published in *Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 287.

of a gate in a wall or otherwise; but rather as a gateway or opening, a road, an entrance, an approach, or way.[1] Indeed the word *gate* had originally both these significations. In the "*Promptuarium Parvulorum*" we have it both as a way, "*via*," "*iter*"; and as a door, "*porta*," "*fores*," "*janua*", the former probably derived from the Icelandic *gata*, a way, a road, from *gaa*, to go:[2] the latter from the Anglo-Saxon *geat*, "porta." Hence the cause of no little confusion from confounding two independent etymologies.[3] As early as the tenth century *geat* had the common meaning of a roadway, for in a charter of Eadred, A.D. 955, Wayland's Smithy is represented as situated on the west side of a wide road or opening (*geat*) near the Ridgeway.[4] Even now too, gate in the sense of a "road," is common enough in the South of England: *Ramsgate*, was so called from the way here which leads to the sea.[5] *Margate* again, from there being here an opening or gate through which there was an outlet into the sea.[6] Merk-yate Street, in Hertfordshire, now Market Street, is another case in point, its ancient name in 1145 and 1290 having been Merkyate or Markyate, "in bosco."[7] In the Chronicles of Abingdon we meet with the names of Geatescum, Gatecliffe, and Gatawic. Besides these there is in Kent Snargate and Sandgate; in Somerset Lanyatt and Donyatt and Skilgate; in Sussex Eastergate, &c., in all of which "*gate*" is a synonym for "way." In the North of England "gate," which is still pronounced

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[1] *Magazine*, vol. v., p. 203. Speaking of Nain, Lieutenant Kitchener says, "There are—as far as we could see—no traces of a wall, and I think we should understand by 'gate of the city,' the place where the road enters among the houses, just as the word is often used in Greek, and in modern Arabic in such expressions as 'gate of the pass,' 'gate of the valley,' and even 'gate of the city,' where no wall or gate exists." (Palestine Exploration Fund Reports for 1878, p. 115.)

[2] See Journal of Archæological Institute, vol. xx., p. 395.

[3] Rev. Mackenzie Walcott.

[4] *Magazine*, vol. vii., p. 328.

[5] Hasted's Kent, iv., p. 372.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 347.

[7] Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, iv., 157, 133, 348, 39. Dugdale's Monasticon, iii., 373.

"yate,"[1] is commonly applied in villages which never had walls, the street and village green—all the space on which people are free *to go*—being comprehended in the term *town-gate* from *gyate*. In the wide upland pastures of these counties the rights of individual proprietors are assigned as so many "cattlegaits" or "gates," i.e., licence for so many *to go* (and feed). And so in Yorkshire "sheep-gates" signify the right to turn sheep on to the moors, and these are let in specified numbers with each farm.[2] But again *gate*, as the name of a street, is very often found in the old towns of Scotland and North of England which never had walls; for example Penrith, in Cumberland, which had its Castlegate, or street leading to the castle; its Sandgate, leading to the fell; its Middlegate and Boroughgate, streets in the heart of the town.[3] Ripon again, with its Cowgate, or Coltsgate, its Skellgate, and so forth, though it was an unwalled town.[4] Shall I add that "to gang one's own gate," or the line, "I gaed a waeu gate yestreen," are well-known Scotch uses of this meaning of the word, which in England is usually written "gait," as by Shakspeare? Again our early Reformers speak of "Pilgrimage *gate-going*," that is, "going by the road":[5] while in 1576, the question is put by the Primate, whether the parson, vicar, &c., in the days of Rogation—commonly called the *gang*-days—walk the accustomed bounds.[6]

If then *Yate* or *Gate*, with the meaning of "approach to" or "passage towards," be thought the true origin of the name of our village, the enquiry naturally arises to what place does such passage point? and here I can have no hesitation in answering, most undoubtedly to Abury, the greatest British Temple in these islands, a

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[1] *Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 78. Gate-posts are known in Westmoreland as *yat-stoops*. See Journal of Archæological Institute, vol. xviii., pp. 27—30.

[2] Zoologist for 1879, p. 355.

[3] Rev. Mackenzie Walcott.

[4] Journal of Archæological Institute, vol. xxxii., p. 401.

[5] Coverdale, ii., 271. Bradford, i., 280; ii., 293.

[6] Cardwell, Doc. Ann. 1407 and 1572. *Ib.* 372. See Journal of Archæol. Institute, vol. xix., pp. 54, 57, 60, on local names in Gloucestershire, where "Yate" is given in Domesday as "Giete."

little farther down the bourne, on the same plain, but three miles distant, and within sight of our village. Indeed proximity to the noble sanctuary of Abury, being the only cause of distinction to this retired village, I have thought it not unlikely that its name might somewhow be derived therefrom: and finding the Anglo-Saxon *Yte* meaning "outermost," or "more outward," I have surmised whether this could be the source whence the name of Yatesbury came: certainly it has the advantage of applying equally to the old form Etesberie, as well as the more modern name; and would signify perhaps the utmost limits, or *suburbs*, of Abury.[1] I should add that Canon Jones in his interesting papers "on the Names of Places in Wiltshire," suggests the possibility of Yatton on the west and Yatesbury on the east, signifying the gates, entrances, or openings into "the tongue of land" stretching from Cricklade and Malmesbury some fourteen miles broad and extending southward some fifty miles long, which Dr. Edwin Guest[2] affirmed was still left in the possession of the old inhabitants though in the very midst of what had become English territory. Canon Jones however himself inclines to the opinion that the former part of our name is some corruption of a personal name.

But whatever Yeatesbury or Etesberie may have been—and I fear that part of our subject must for ever be wrapped in oblivion—there is no question that modern Yatesbury is a very small unpretending village, containing but fifty-seven houses, almost all of them cottages of the very humblest type, universally built of the soft chalk-stone of the locality, and thatched: moreover the village is compact, without a single outlying cottage, though the houses for the most part are detached, and stand singly in their several gardens. Not that our village is without its pretensions: it can hold up its head, and parcel itself out into divisions no less than its more populous

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[1] In connection with this view, I must not omit the strange tradition prevalent in the parish that at one time houses extended from Yatesbury to Abury, and that the two villages joined!

[2] On the history of the early settlements of our English ancestors in this country." Journal of Archæolog. Institute for 1859, vol. xvi., pages 105—131. *Magazine*, vol. xiv., p. 276.

neighbours: thus while the centre of the village is denominated "The Street," the upper or northern portion—comprising five cottages—is known as "Townsend," and the southern portion—containing eight cottages—rejoices in the aspiring name of "Little London." Moreover there is a small cluster of three cottages near the Church, which, time out of mind, has been designated "Vulpit," which I take to be a corruption of "Fullpit," in allusion to an ever-brimming pond hard by. Outlying parts of the parish are also known to the inhabitants by strange provincial names, such as "Steert Pond," "Guilden Ash Road," "Pack-gate," "Lymers Lane," &c., &c.

History.

As to the history of our village, I have little enough to say, and if happy is the place which has no history, then supremely blessed must the village of Yatesbury be. Certain fragments however may be gathered of local history, such as names of lords of the manor from time to time, enough to show that the place had an owner, and that owner sometimes a man of mark in his generation.

Thus in A.D. 1086 Domesday Book tells us it was one of the royal manors, and held of the king by a Spaniard, who was either a foreign ecclesiastic or one of those who assisted William in his conquest, and was made a thane for his services. The following is the account as given in Domesday:—"Aluredus de Ispania tenet de Rege Etesberie. Alwi tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi, et geldabat pro 5 hidis. Terra est 4 carucatæ. De ea sunt in dominio 3 hidæ et dimidium, et ibi 2 carucatæ, et 2 servi; et 7 bordarii, et unus miles, cum 1 carucata. Ibi 20 acræ pasturæ. Valuit 3 libras; modo 4 libras."

"Alured of Spain holds Etesberie of the King. Alwi held it in the time of King Edward, and it paid geld for 5 hides. The land is 4 carucates. Of this there are 3½ hides in demesne, and there are 2 carucates, and 2 serfs: and there are 7 bordars, and one 'miles' with one carucate. There are 20 acres of pasture. It was worth £3, it is now worth £4."[1]

[1] Canon Jones' Domesday for Wiltshire, p. 112. See also p. 22, *note.*

As to the much-vexed question of the extent of a hide of land, and of the carucate, I cannot here enter an opinion, but refer those who desire enlightenment on these points to the valuable introduction to the Domesday for Wiltshire, by Canon Jones. Enough that our village possessed seven *Bordarii*, whose business it was to supply the lord of the manor with provisions of some kind or other, and one soldier "*miles*"—or *esquire* as understood in olden time—who had to render services to a feudal lord, and through him to the king, and so obtained rank in proportion to the service rendered.

In the reign of John, A.D. 1205, Barville and Fitz Everard were landowners in the parish.[1]

In the time of Henry III., A.D. 1240, Reginald of Calne and Fitz-Matthew.

In the second year of Edward II., A.D. 1309, Walrond held in right of an heiress of Longespée. Her property—not a large one—passed by another marriage to Sir Baldwin Freville, of Warwickshire, whose family in 1 Richard II. contested with the Dymocks the championship of England.

In the ninth year of Edward II., A.D. 1316, it is mentioned among the manors or townships of the county which were ordered each to supply one soldier towards the military levies granted to the king for the wars in Scotland, and at that time Yatesbury was owned by Henry de Wyleton, Radulf de Botiller, and the Dean and Chapter of Sarum.[2]

In A.D. 1330 Edmund, Earl of Kent, was lord of the manor in right of his wife Margery Wake.

In A.D. 1331, Sir Peter Doygnel, in right of Agnes Bourdon, his wife: he became High Sheriff of the county in 1337, and served in Parliament as Knight of the Shire, A.D. 1338.[3]

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[1] Much of this information is gathered from Canon Jackson's notes to Aubrey, page 46.

[2] Extract from the Nomina Villarum for Wiltshire, or the Return made to writs addressed to all the sheriffs throughout England as to what Hundreds and Wapentakes, and how many and what cities, boroughs, and townships there were in each Hundred or Wapentake. Printed by Rev. W. H. Jones in *Magazine*, vol. xii., p. 24.

[3] *Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 198.

In A.D. 1366, towards the close of the long reign of Edward III., some of the land was held by Baldewin Frevill, who received it in recompense for military service to Gilbert. "49 Edw. III. Baldewinus Frevill, miles, ten: terras in Yatesbury de Gilberto de per servic: mil:"[1]

In Henry IV., A.D. 1410, John Preston held "as of the Castle of Devizes."

In Henry the Sixth's reign, A.D. 1432, the family of Ernle came into possession, and held for above three hundred years, during which period they were also patrons of the living. They were also lords of the manors of Bishops Cannings, Bourton, Conock, and Etchilhampton. Not a few of the members of this powerful family served as High Sheriffs of Wiltshire, represented their county in Parliament, and were otherwise distinguished.[2]

To the Ernle family succeeded, as lords of the manor, the still more powerful family of Hungerford: and by his will, A.D. 1764, George Hungerford, Esq., L.L.D., of Studley House, near Calne, bequeathed his manor farm of Yatesbury to his second wife and widow, Elizabeth (Pollen), who died 1748.[3] Their monument is in the Church: indeed this was one of the last—if not the very last—burial place of that family. The funeral of Lady, or Madame or Dame Hungerford—as she was better known to the people—still remains in the recollection of some of the oldest inhabitants, when in October, 1816, with much parade and procession of horses, the body of that lady was brought from Bath by torch-light, and buried in a vault within the Church, where already several other vaults of the same family existed.

About A.D. 1848 the estate was sold by Sir Richard Hungerford

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[1] *Magazine*, vol. xii., p. 24.

[2] The Ernle family sprung originally from Ernele, an estate near Chichester, in Sussex. They flourished there as early as the thirteenth century. In 4 Edward III. one of this family represented the county of Sussex in Parliament. In the reign of Henry VIII. another of the same family rose to great distinction in the profession of the law. Appointed successively to the offices of Solicitor and Attorney-General, he was raised at last to the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1519, and received the honour of knighthood. (*Magazine*, vol. xi., p. 191.)

[3] Canon Jackson's Aubrey, p. 46, *note*.

Pollen, Bart., to Mr. John Tanner, already a large landowner at Yatesbury. The prebendal estate was also sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the same family about A.D. 1864, and, with the exception of twenty-six acres of glebe land, belonging to the Rector, two acres of "Church Land," in charge of the churchwardens,[1] and four acres belonging to Major Heneage, the whole of the parish is now both owned and occupied by the Tanner family: the several small farms—to the number of seven or eight, which existed in the parish within the memory of some living—having gradually become absorbed in their larger neighbours.

The Church.

The pride and glory of our parish is the Church, dedicated to "All Saints": though small in size, and without any pretence at grandeur, it is a very gem of a village Church, and the masonry of the tower, the porch, the south side of the nave, and—above all—the little turret staircase leading to the old rood loft and the roof of the nave, is exquisitely good. Aubrey indeed passes it by with the most off-hand negligence, saying "in the Church here is nothing to be found": but I take leave to think that our good old Wiltshire antiquary, either never visited it, or was nodding when he wrote that depreciatory verdict—"Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus"—[2] for certain it is that our Church shows many marks of the care that, at various periods, was bestowed upon it, and which perhaps may be attributed to the several powerful families who successively owned property in the parish.

The present Church consists of a tower at the west end, nave, chancel, north aisle and south porch. In the original Church, which

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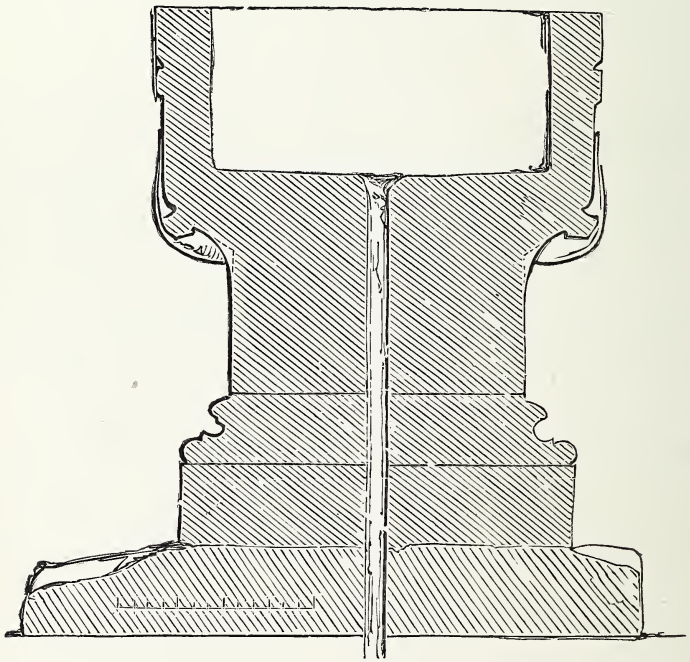
[1] The origin of this "Church Land is altogether unknown, and the object for which it was devised, as well as the name of the donor, are alike forgotten. Like so much other Church land and other Church property, the annual proceeds merely go to help the rate, though doubtless this was far from the intention of the charitable individual who gave or bequeathed it.

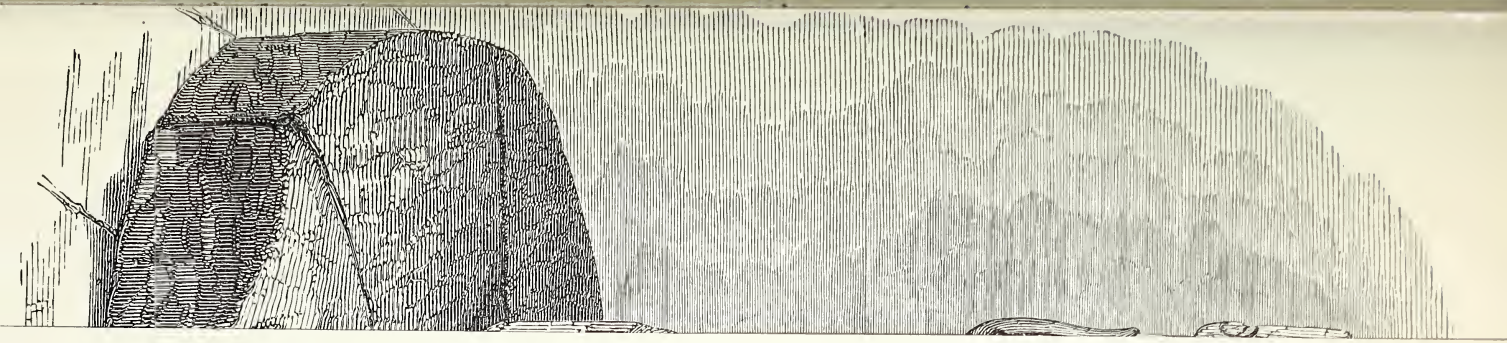
[2] Aubrey indeed has very little to say of the parish. The following sentences comprize the whole of his account: "Yatesbury. In the Church here is nothing to be found, neither is there any tradition that I can yet learn of any remarkable thing in the parish. In the field eastwards from the towne is a barrow or two."

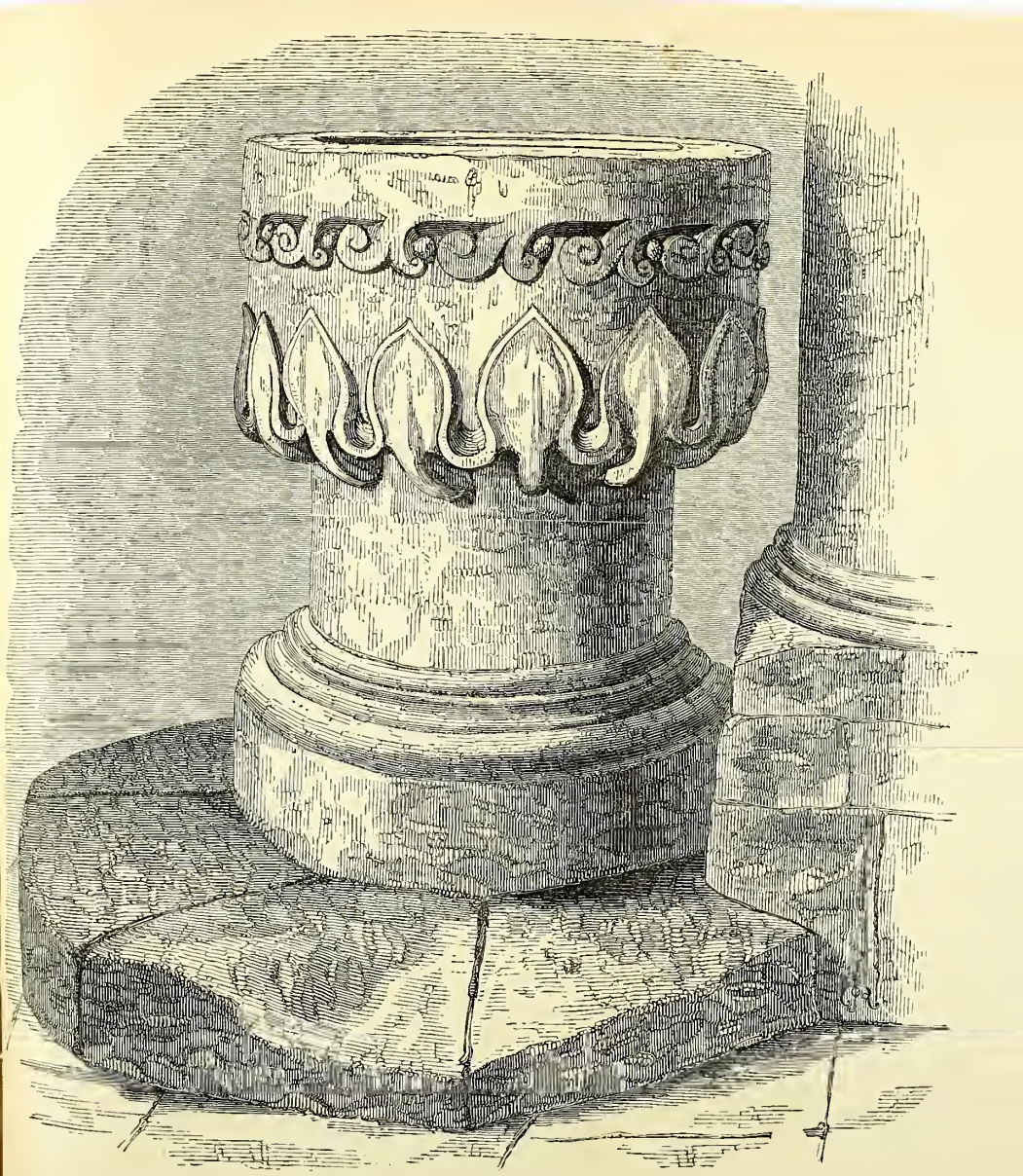
was Norman, there was a south aisle as well, and one of its round arches with the pillars supporting it, was disentombed from the plaster which buried it, when the Church was restored in 1854: the font also is Norman, and an admirable example of good workmanship of the period: it was well figured in the "*Builder*" in 1844, and I have been fortunate in securing the wood-blocks for the embellishment of this paper. Early in the thirteenth century the Church



Section of the Font at Yatesbury.

was re-built, and the pointed arches springing from pillars with transitional or semi-Norman mouldings mark pretty accurately the date of such work: there is also a small triplet window at the west end of the north aisle, which was an extremely elegant specimen of Early English work, till the masons, in *restoring* it! chipped away





FONT AT YATESBURY.

all the inner mouldings, and ruined it for ever.[1] Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Church again underwent extensive repairs, and then it was that the south aisle was removed, and Perpendicular windows were inserted, and the general fabric left as it now stands; with the exception however of the chancel, which was re-built from the ground in 1854, to replace a hideous erection, with square windows and flat whitewashed ceiling, of the last century. The nave, aisles, and tower are roofed with lead, and the latter contains four good bells, the tenor being—so far as I can ascertain—the largest and heaviest of a peal of four in the county, weighing about 9 cwt. and measuring 38¼ inches in diameter.[2] They were re-hung in the spring of the present year (1879), and they bear the following inscriptions:—

1. Ano Dni 1636. W. F.
2. (No inscription.)
3. Ano. dni. 1636.
4. I. Washbourne, T. Ranger, R. Walter, Churchwardens. R. Wells, Aldbourne, fecit 1773.[3]

Within the Church a small doorway may be seen at the extreme south-east end of the nave, opening on a staircase, and above it, but rather more to the east another door of the original rood-loft, to which that staircase conducted: the stairs are also continued on to the roof of the nave.

When the Church was restored in 1854, it was found necessary to pull down and re-build the chancel arch, which was effected by shoring up the whole of the east end of the nave roof by means of props from below. Though the chancel arch was so small and narrow as to be inconvenient for service, and showed such signs of settle-

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[1] This window is mentioned with commendation by Dean Merewether in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute, page 95.

[2] *Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 77. On Church Bells, by Rev. W. C. Lukis.

[3] In the old Churchwardens' Account Book, to be mentioned farther on, these items occur:—

1773. Feb. 23.	Pd. for caring the ould Bell and bringing back the new & expences	£: 1 : 10 : 0.
Mar 7.	Pd. Mr Wells for a new Bell	34 : 8 . 0.
	Paid the plummer Bill	20 : 15 . 4.

ment as to necessitate its removal, it was not without considerable regret that it was taken down; as it was unmistakably of a peculiar horse-shoe form, contracted at the base, and bulging out in the centre; and that regret was not diminished when, on removing the adjoining walls on either side, there were found, though concealed by the plaster, on the north side a rude hagioscope or squint, and on the south side what appeared to be the remains of an ambry, though some supposed this too to be a hagioscope.

On the east wall of the nave were also discovered faint traces of painting, but so obliterated by damp as well as successive coats of yellow-wash, that the pattern could not be traced: it seemed however to be simply a diaper. Much more visible and in far better preservation, was a bold and effective pattern of ivy leaves in scarlet paint, which were found beneath the white-wash, bordering the arches on the north wall of the nave: accurate *fac-similes* of these were obtained, and it is intended some day to re-produce them.

At the upper part of the easternmost window of the nave are four small medallions of Early English glass, which have been much admired by connoisseurs: they are charged with the four evangelistic symbols. They were removed from the chancel in 1854, and placed in their present position for security.

A new organ was added to the Church in 1869, built by Mr. Holdich, of London, to replace a second-hand instrument which had been erected by the same well-known builder when the Church was restored in 1854.

The present communion plate is new: that which existed prior to 1854 was of pewter, exceedingly massive, the flagon especially of huge capacity. These were melted down and converted into the font-ewer which is used at Holy Baptism.

The stone screen, the stone pulpit, and the inner doorway of the porch, as well as the masonry filling in the arch above, were all new in 1854.

When the Church was re-paved at its restoration, several vaults were disclosed at the east end of the nave, some of which at least belonged to the Hungerford Family; and at the east end of the chancel many other vaults were discovered, presumed to be the

graves of former Rectors of the parish. There is but one monument in the Church bearing date previous to this century, and that is to the last of the Hungerfords buried in this Church, referred to above: it contains the following inscriptions :—

Infra
Conduntur cineres
GEOR^{gii} HUNGERFORD. L.L.D.
De Studley in hoc Agro Arm: ^{ri}
Ex antiquâ stirpe Hungerfordij de Cadnam
licet ultimi
handquaquam indigni.
Vir summâ humanitate
fide incorruptâ insignis.
Legum patriæ benè peritus
Et fidelis Dispensator.
In elegantioribus Artibus
multùm versatus.
Ob: ^{t} 8° Die Jan: ij An: ^{o} 1764°.
Ætat: ^{s} 60.
Chara et fidelis Conj: ^{x} Eliz: ^{a} filia John: ^{s} Pollen Arm: ^{ri}
Hoc monum: sac: Mem: ^{riæ}
Posuit.
Juxta deposita Corpora Mariæ Ux: ^{s} primæ quæ Ob: ^{t} An: ^{c} 1747: ^{o} Ætatis 47°.
Et Eliz: ^{thæ} unicæ filiæ ex eâdem Ux: ^{re}, quæ hac vita
decessit An: ^{o} 1748° Ætat: ^{s} 11.°

Hic etiam propè cineres mariti sepulta est
ELIZABETHA
Geo: ^{ii} Hungerford Arm: ^{i} Uxor secunda et vidua,
Quæ juveniles et senescentes annos
Adeò pietate et benevolentiâ ornaverat
Ut obiit suis præcipuè flebilis
Die Octobris 17. A.D. 1816, Ætat. suæ 83.

Hoc functus est desiderii testimonio
Nepos Ætate minor; R. POLLEN.

The Churchyard.

The churchyard is, I suppose, one of the smallest in the county, and has long been full, so many generations of the inhabitants having been crowded into the narrow half-acre which is as much as our so-called "God's Acre" will measure. It possesses one grand ornament in the form of a magnificent yew-tree which overshadows the porch and is in the prime of vigour, and is well-grown all round: it is the handsomest undecayed yew-tree—so far as I know—in the neighbourhood, and it is supported by several others of goodly size in the glebe around.

A very elegant high stone cross, elevated on steps, stands at the north-west corner of the churchyard, and is generally mistaken by strangers for a churchyard cross. It is however merely a modern monument, erected in 1849 over the remains of a Monsieur Joscelin D'Emmerez de Charmoy, a native of the Island of Mauritius, and a friend and pupil of my predecessor. He entertained so pleasing a recollection of the peaceful quiet of our pretty churchyard, that he expressed a wish to be buried here; and when he died, at the early age of 27, his widow brought his body from London, and, though a Roman Catholic, he was interred here.

Another pretty little stone cross under the large yew-tree at the south of the Church marks the grave of George Beale, a poor boy who was found dead in a ditch on the borders of two neighbouring parishes, in 1847; and when those parishes began to dispute whose business it was to bury the body, my kind-hearted predecessor, shocked at such ungenerous wranglings, settled the matter by bringing the poor boy here and burying him at his own expense.

The registers are by no means perfect. There is in the parish chest a transcript which the Rev. J. S Money-Kyrle, when Rector, caused to be made at Salisbury of all the registers of the parish which remain in the Registry of the Bishop of Salisbury prior to 1706, but these only begin with the year 1616, and have many wide gaps and omissions of years together. Since 1706 the registers are complete, and are scattered over no less than seven volumes, exclusive of the book of transcripts. Taking an average from the last thirty years, the following is the annual result: baptisms, 7;

burials, 5; marriages, $1\frac{3}{4}$; and—so far as I can judge from the older registers—this is nearly the same average fifty, one hundred, and one hundred and fifty years ago: hence I gather that the population of the parish has neither diminished nor increased to any appreciable extent for the last century-and-a-half. The census in 1871 declared our population to be two hundred and thirty-eight; in 1861, two hundred and thirty; in 1851, two hundred and fifty-one.

But if our registers contain nothing of interest—and I see not a single entry worth recording—we have one quaint old treasure, in the "Churchwardens' Account Book," which dates from A.D. 1752, and tells many strange tales of the way church money was expended in those days. The entry of one shilling paid for killing a fox appears in almost every page from 1753 to 1801, an expenditure of public money which would probably cause some little outcry, if practised at the present day within this part of the Duke of Beaufort's country.[1] Sometimes as many as ten foxes were so killed in the twelvemonths, at an expense to the parish of ten shillings; more often three or four would be the annual number. "Powlcatts," or "Paullcats," as they are variously spelt, were still more numerous at the earliest of those dates, though they gradually diminished in number, and disappeared from the book altogether in 1792: they were charged at the rate of fourpence each. Mole-catching again was paid out of the Church rates from 1792 at the fixed sum of £2 . 12*s.* 6*d.* per annum. Somewhat more legitimate was the frequent entry from the beginning of the book and extending well into this century, "gave a sailor one shilling," and sometimes eight sailors

[1] On February 21st, 1872, the Duke of Beaufort killed a fox in the hall of the Rectory. It so happened that, the family and most of the servants being absent at a confirmation in a neighbouring parish, the house was very quiet and the front door shut: and the fox, hard pressed after a long run, and seeking safety in the first available place of refuge, ran in at the back door, and so through a long passage into the front hall; where it crouched in a vain hope to escape detection. There were however two hounds in pursuit close behind its brush, which followed through the back door and so into the hall: and here they were soon joined by the whole pack, which running in full cry by the window heard the noise inside, and dashing through the panes of glass, soon filled the hall and made short work of their victim. As a trophy of this incident, the brush of the fox now hangs in the Rectory hall.

were so relieved in the course of a year, though how sailors came to be so often on the tramp through this unfrequented parish, with no thoroughfare through it, passes my comprehension. Again "gave to the briefe three shillings"; "gave to the briefs two shillings"; appear occasionally: and once in 1760, "gave to the Brief of Hagon Church in the King of Prusos dominions one shilling"; a strange way of contributing from parochial funds to objects however worthy! But the chief entry of all, which generally occupies three-fourths of every page, and for whose extermination one would suppose, on perusal of this book, that church rates were chiefly levied, is the item of "Sparrows." They were massacred at the rate of fourpence a dozen for old, and twopence a dozen for young birds; and fifty, sixty, eighty, and even on some occasions up to nearly two hundred dozens in the year were thus destroyed in this parish alone: and this prominent tale of sparrows continued till the year 1843, when the charge was finally, but not without difficulty, banished from the church rates. It was however discovered some years later cropping up in the highway rate-book, disguised under the name of "sundries," and it was only after earnest remonstrance against the enormity of mending the roads with sparrows that the abuse was done away. The annual expenses of the Church are still defrayed by voluntary rate, and no instance has yet occurred of this being refused by any ratepayer.

Hard by the churchyard, indeed abutting on it at its south-eastern corner, stood the old rectory, for many years used as a cottage, and inhabited by the parish clerk: here too the Sunday school was held, till in 1855 it was pulled down, and in its place, or rather more to the south, the school and school-mistress's house were built by the Rector and his friends. At that period, and when the school was first opened in April, 1856, the total number of scholars—though the list included all the children of fitting age in the parish—amounted to no more than seventeen, but then there was a remarkable absence of large families in the village, not a single house containing more than four children. Since that time however a very different state of things has prevailed, and the day school has an average of about 33, the Sunday school of about 53, and the night school—

which flourishes in winter—of 12, to which indeed it is limited.

At the extreme north-east corner of the adjacent glebe stood the old rectorial tithe-barn, of enormous size and capacity suitable for the days when tithes were taken in kind: since however the tithes were commuted in this parish in the year 1850 and a rent-charge of £510 in lieu of tithes was substituted, the barn became useless, and after serving during the summer of 1854 as a temporary Church, while the real fabric was under repair, it was pulled down, not without much labour and an astonishing amount of dust and dirt from the very ancient thatch, and re-built on a modest scale in a more convenient spot.

The present rectory was built in 1841 by the then Rector, Rev. William Money, who for forty years resided at the family seat of Whetham, near Calne, and served this parish from thence. He planted with great judgment the numerous belts and plantations which now shelter the house from the high winds; and to the excellent taste of himself, as well as the son who succeeded him as Rector, is due the admirable laying out of the gardens and lawns in what till then had been a bare open field, over which many of the parishioners now living have many a time mown and reaped.

The following list of Patrons and Rectors of the living is gathered partly from extracts made in 1844 by my predecessor, Rev. J. S. Money-Kyrle, from the Registry of Sarum, partly from extracts from the invaluable "Institutiones Clericorum in comitatu Wiltoniæ ab anno 1297 ad annum 1810," of Sir Thomas Philipps:—

Date	Ecclesia, Vicaria vel Capella	Patronus	Clericus
1304	E. Yatesbury	Rex, *quia Custos Hæredis* Nicolai Bourden *defuncti.*	W^mus^ de Wellop.*
—	E. Yatesbury	Rex.	Hugo de Whyteley *per resig.* W^mi^ de Welhop.
1305	†V. Yatesbury	Dominus, *per lapsum temporis.*	W^mus^ de Chelreth.
1307	†V. Yatesbury	Hugo de Wheteley *Rector.*	Johannes Whetelay.

* But because he was absent abroad with John de Throkesford, *John, Vicar of* Henton, was presented to it for six months (according to the rules of the last Council of Lugdunum) who declined it, and then Hugo de Wyteley was presented.

† In these two instances only do we find Yatesbury marked V. (vicaria.)

Date	Ecclesia Vicaria vel Capella	Patronus	Clericus
1317	E. Yatesbury	Henry de Freynes *et* Agnes Burdoun, *uxor ejus.*	W^mus^ de Whetelay.
1331	E. Yatesbury	Petrus Doynel Et Agneta, *uxor ejus.*	Patricius, *filius* Henrici de Frenes.
1361	E. Yatesbury	Agnes *Relict*: Edmundi Bourdon.	W^mus^ Wynebell.
1362	Yatesbury *Unio Vicariæ.*	Wmus Wymbald R. et Patronus.	——
1365	E. Yatesbury	Rex.	Johannes Syuard.
1366	E. Yatesbury	Rex *pro hered*: Johannis Burgherst.	Johannes Syuard.*
1383	E. Yatesbury	Thomas Worston.	Ricardus Waas.
1432	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Ernele.	Thomas Swyft *p.m.* Ricardi Waas.
1439	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Ernele *Armiger.*	Johannes Richard *p.r.* Thomæ Swift.
1456	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Ernele *Armiger.*	Johannes Rychard *permut cum* W^mo^ Wareyn.†
1471	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Lunfford.	Johannes Vernam *vice* W^mi^ Wareyn.
—	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Lunfford.	Edwardus Betrich *p.r.* Johannis Vernam.
1505	E. Yatesbery	Johannes Ernle.‡	Gul^mus^ Waryn *p.m.* Edwardi Berryge.
1512	E. Yatisbury	Johannes Ernle *Armiger.*	Gul^mus^ Ernle *p.m.* Ricardi Waryn.
1522	E. Yattisbury	Johannes Erneley *Arm.*§	Gul^mus^ Erneley *p.m.* Gulielmi Erneley.
1537	E. Yattesbury	Joh: ^nes^ Ernley *Armiger*‖	Robertus Richardson *p.m.* Gulielmi Ernley.
1545	E. Yatesbury	Joh: ^nes^ Erneley *de* Cannings *Armiger.*¶	Johannes Goode *p.m.* Ricardi Richardson.
1598	E. Yatesbury	Rogerus Chever *de* Quemerford Clothier, *ex concess* Michaelis Erneley *de* Whetham *Armigeri.*	Robertus Chever *p.m.* Thomæ Good.
1602	E. Yatesbury	Thomasin, relicta dicti Roberti Chevers, *ex concess* Johannis Ernle *Armig*: *prefato* Roberto.	Petrus Riche *p.m.* Roberti Chever.
1637	E. Yatesbury	Edwardus Bayntun, *Miles, de* Bromham.	Henricus Norborne *p.m.* Petri Riche.

* This was an exchange with "[*permut*: *cum*] Petro de West Kyngton" incumbent of "Ewelme (Oxon)", "Johannes Bordon" being the patron thereof.

† This was an exchange with the Incumbent of Donhead S. Andrew, of which the Abbess of Shaftesbury (Abbatissa de Shaston) was Patroness.

‡ John Ernle, Esq, of Witham, was Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1504. (*Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 209.)

§ John Erneley, Esq., of Burton, son of Chief Justice Ernle, was Sheriff of the county in 1521 (*Ib.*, p. 210.)

‖ John Erneley, Esq., served as Sheriff in 1528. (*Ib.*, p. 211)

¶ John Ernley, Esq, of Cannings, served as Sheriff, A.D. 1532; John Erneley, of Cannings, again in 1539; John Erneley, of Cannings, in 1543; John Erneley, of Cannings, in 1553; John Erneley, Esq., in 1562; Michael Erneley, in 1579. (*Ib.* pp. 211—215.)

Date	Ecclesia, Vicaria vel Capella	Patronus	Clericus
1662	E. Yatesbury	Johan. Erneley *de* Whetham *Armiger.*	Thomas Johnson.
1680	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Ernle *de* Whetham *Armiger.**	Franciscus Rogers *p.m.* Thomæ Johnson.
1685	E. Yatesbury	Johannes Ernle, *Miles, Cancellarius* et *sub Thesaurar Scaccarii Regis.*	Henricus Hindley *p.c.* Francisci Rogers.
1708	E. Yatesbury	Thos. Fettiplace *de* Fernham, *Co* Berks, *Armig.*	Daniel Fettiplace.
1735	E. Yatesbury	Constantia Ernle *Spinster.*	John Rolt *p.m.* Daniel Fettiplace.
1794	E. Yatesbury	William Money, Esq.,† of Whetham.	Walter Hunt Grubbe *p.m.* John Rolt.
1801	E. Yatesbury	William Money, of Hom House Co Hereford Esq., and of Whetham.	William Money *p.r.* Walter Hunt Grubbe.
1843	E. Yatesbury	Rev. William Money-Kyrle of Hom House *Co* Hereford, and of Whetham.	James Stoughton Money-Kyrle *p.r.* William Money (then Wm Money-Kyrle.)
1852	E. Yatesbury	William Money-Kyrle of Hom House *Co* Hereford, and of Whetham, *Co* Wilts, Esq.	Alfred Charles Smith *p.m.* James Stoughton Money-Kyrle.

The above list of Patrons of the living will show generally who were the lords of the manor, when the Rectory fell vacant from time to time: and the uninterrupted possession of the family of Ernle through so long a period is very interesting and very remarkable. It will be seen that the last Patrons and Rectors, though bearing the names of Money and Money-Kyrle, inherited from the Ernles; and the connection between the names of Kirle and Ernle, above a century-and-a-half ago, will appear from the following extract which I made from the "Liber Regis" in the British Museum.[1]

* This Sir John Ernle was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the end of the reign of Charles II. Sir John founded a widows' charity at Calne. He was one of the eighteen Privy Councillors who recommended King James to send the Bishops to the Tower. (Canon Jackson's Aubrey, p. 39.)

† The last male heir of the Ernle family, Sir Edward, died 1787, and the name has disappeared from the county. Whetham belongs to the representative by female line: William Money inheriting as son of the heir of Constantia Ernle; it is still owned by Colonel Ernle Money-Kyrle.

[1] Liber Regis, vel. Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum," by John Bacon, Esq., 1786. Diocese of Salisbury, page 875. D. Avebury, in the Archdeaconry of Wilts.

Kings Books. £ s. d.	Livings remaining in charge, Rectories, &c., with their Patrons, Proprietors, &c.	Yearly Tenths. £ s. d.
17 : 3 : 4	Yatesbury, R. (All Saints.)— Archidiac 11/2½, Prox 4/5. John Ernle Gent. 1662-1680. Thomas Fettiplace Esq. 1708. Jo Kirle Ernle Esq. 1720. Constantia Ernle Spinster 1735.	1 : 14 : 4

Though the prebendal estate has now passed out of the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, it must not be forgotten that there were Prebendaries of Yatesbury, who in the good old days derived substantial benefit from this parish; and there is still a stall of Yatesbury though it is an unremunerative one, in the Cathedral of Salisbury.

By the kindness of Canon W. H. Jones, I am enabled to supply a tolerably complete list of those who have held the prebend of Yatesbury for the last six hundred and fifty years:—

c. 1226.	Hugo de Wells.	Osmund. Reg.
	Nicholas Hengate (or Hugate).	
1318.	Roger de Northborough, Bishop of Lichfield, 1322.	On the cession of N. Hengate.
1322.	William de Selton.	
1340.	John de Eccleshall.	
1361.	Peter Fitz-Waryn.	
	Adam de Lakenhyth.	
1378.	John Clerenaus	By cession of A. de Lakenhyth.
c. 1387.	Walter Easton.	
1388-9.	William Littlington.	
1399.	Robert Bushe.	On decease of *W. Easton.*
1416.	Oliver Dinley.	On decease of R. Bushe.
1423.	John Symondesburgh.	Archd. Wilts.
1437. (May.)	John Tydeling.	On resignation of J. Symondesburgh.
1437. (Nov.)	John Moreton.	On cession of J. Tydeling.
1440.	John Chedworth.	Archd. Wilts.
1443.	William Normanton.	By resignation of J. Chedworth.
1445.	Thomas Kirkby.	
1446.	Walter Colles.	
1453. (March 1.)	Ralph Drew.	By cession of W. Colles.
1453. (March 2.)	Richard Wilton.	By resignation of R. Drew.
1457. (Feby. 10.)	John Stretton.	By "dimission"* of R. Wilton.
1457. (Feby. 29.)	Rob. Parker.	By "dimission" of J. Stretton.

* This is a literal translation of the phrase "*per dimissionem,*" as it appears in the registers—though "cession" and "dimission" seem to be almost convertible terms.

1461.	John Russell.	On decease of R. Parker. Archd. Berks, Bishop of Lincoln, and Chancellor of England.
1462.	John Paynet.	On resignation of J. Russell.
1471. (May 15.)	John Vernam.	On decease of J. Paynet.
1471. (Nov. 2.)	Roger Rotheram.	On resignation of J. Vernam.
1477.	Leonard Say.	
1493.	Henry Carnbul (or Cambell).	On decease of L. Say.
1494.	Thomas Phillips (Sub Dean.)	On resignation of H. Carnbull.
1513.	Henry Rawlins, archd. Sar.	On decease of T. Phillips.
1514.	Edward Finch, archd. Wilts.	On resignation of H. Rawlins.
1515.	William Pykenham.	By "dimission" of E. Finch.
1517.	Richard Audley. (Precentor.)	By "dimission" of W. Pykenham.
1523.	John Biggs.	
1524.	John Cox.	On resignation of J. Biggs.
1546.	John Bodenham	On decease of J. Cox.
1547.	John Everode.	On decease of J. Bodenham.
1549.	Thomas Nelson.	
1553.	Thomas White,	Archd. Berks. Treasurer. Canon Residentiary. He died in 1624, aged 95, and had been connected with the Cathedral 71 years.
1565.	John Garbrand.	On resignation of T. White.
1569.	Edmund Weston.	
1570.	William Overton.	Bishop of Lichfield, 1580.
1580.	Hugh Langley.	By the Queen on promotion of W. Overton.
1591.	John Hopkinson.	
1594.	Richard Mulcaster.	Presented by John Tayler, patron "pro hac vice."
1621.	Hugh Gough.	
1623.	Humphrey Henchman.	By resignation of H. Gough. Bishop of Sarum, 1660.
1629.	Edward Gough.	On cession of H. Henchman.
1668. (Oct.)	Daniel Whitby.	Precentor.
1668. (Dec.)	John Martyn.	On resignation of D. Whitby.
1677.	John Fielding.	On resignation of J. Martyn.
1678.	Isaac Walton.*	On resignation of J. Fielding.
1679. (Feb.)	Timothy Morton.	On resignation of I. Walton.
1679. (Oct. 3.)	Thomas Barford.	On cession of T. Morton.
1701.	Henry Rogers.	On decease of T. Barford.
1721.	John Squire. (Succentor.)	On decease of H. Rogers.
1759.	Charles Tarrant. (Succentor.)	Dean of Peterborough 1764, ob. 1791.

* Isaac Walton was nephew of the great fisherman, and Rector of Poulshot—or Polsholt, Poulesholt, or Pawlesholt—as it was originally written. He was also a Canon Residentiary. Among the treasures of the Muniment Room are "Walton's Collections" from the various Chapter records.

1791.	John Harrington.	On decease of C. Tarrant.
1795.	Thomas Henry Hume.	(Treasurer.)
1799.	Edward Few.	On cession of T. H. Hume.
1802.	Charles Francis.	On cession of E. Few.
1805.	Kenrick Francis Saunders.	On cession of C. Francis.
1854.	Arthur Fane.	
1872.	Eldon S. Bankes.	

I am also indebted to Canon Jones for the following valuable comments on the above list: "Yatesbury was a *sub-deacon* prebend: in value it was one of the smallest of all. It was anciently taxed at four marks,—Charminster being taxed at forty, and Ramsbury at sixty marks,—and in 1671 it had to pay only *fourteen shillings and sevenpence* towards £340 raised from prebendal estates for the repairs of the Cathedral. This will account for the extremely rapid changes in the Yatesbury Prebend, which will have been noticed above. It was evidently oftentimes accepted, and held for a time, in order thereby to carry out some little plan of ecclesiastical arrangement; for example, either the voiding of a richer prebend and securing therefrom a 'pension,' or the qualifying for some dignity, or residentiaryship, which could not be held without a prebend. At all events those who held the preferment appear to have been not disinclined to exchange it for something better."

I should add that a Court was held about thirty years ago, in the time of my predecessor, when Mr. Tuckey was lord of the manor of the prebendal estate (for there were two manors within this parish), when various old-world customs, now obsolete and forgotten, were revived, such as the doing homage, the presenting of a turf by an old man, &c., &c.

Here seems the place to mention Yatesbury Feast, which is held as near old All Saints Day as possible, viz., the first Sunday after November 13th, and the Monday and Tuesday following it. Like most other country feasts it has dwindled down even within my recollection to a shadow of its former greatness, and though still looked forward to by the children of the parish, and still in some degree the occasion of family gatherings, when young men and women return home from service for the two days, it is but the expiring remnant of a village feast, and the one solitary booth erected

in "the Street," which alone proclaims the ancient custom, threatens to visit us no more!

I should scarcely be doing justice to a very important matter if I omitted to mention the various fairs in the neighbourhood, which serve as epochs, from which our villagers usually date: thus instead of specifying the end of November, they would say "about a fortnight or so after *Yatsbury Vee-ast.*" Other noted landmarks of time are Tanhill fair (August 6th) usually called "Tannul Vair"; Devizes fair (April 20th) generally known as "Vize Vair"; Calne fair (May 6th); and Marlborough fair (August 22nd).

There is yet another subject which demands attention before I take leave of the parish, to wit the winds which at times beset us with more than common violence, as might be conjectured when our position on the broad open table-land of the downs is considered. The winds which chiefly prevail here are the south-west, which come up from the Bristol Channel without let or impediment, and have a fair fling when they reach our downs. These however are soft-hearted well-disposed winds, which, however boisterous and rough, only tumble about the thatch of ricks and cottages in sport, and have no venom in their horse-play. Not so the north-easterly winds, which swoop down upon us in the early spring, and are spiteful in their attacks, bitter in their blasts, and deadly in their continuance: man and beast, animal and vegetable, cower under their influence, and are the worse for their encounter; and then they often prolong their visits and refuse to depart, however hateful their presence. It is owing to these protracted gales from the north-east that our springs are generally so cold and backward; though we are compensated in the autumn by a prolongation of warmer weather some fortnight or more than in less elevated districts: and in the month of October, as you ascend the downs on an evening from the valleys below, you may often feel a sensible increase of temperature, as you mount to the level of our plain.

On the 30th December, 1859, our village was visited by the most terrific storm of wind I ever heard of in this country: indeed Capt. Sherard Osborn declared that in all his experience of typhoons in China and southern and tropical countries, he never had any idea of

the power of wind till the day he visited the scene of our Wiltshire tornado. This narrow belt of storm, which was concentrated within a breadth of about 400 yards, appears to have begun its devastations about a mile to the south of Calne, and coming up from the west shaped its course for east-north-east, and took a straight line in that direction for about thirteen miles. It attained the height of its fury as it reached our village, and though it was only three minutes in passing through, yet, during that short period, it overthrew barn, outhouse and cottage roofs, demolished ricks, and tore up the largest trees by the roots. So appalling was its appearance as it came on like a thin vapour or cloud, so loud and terrific the roar of its approach, so strange and unearthly the darkness, so sudden and furious its onset, that men's senses seem to have been paralyzed with terror during the few moments of its continuance: the air seemed filled with thatch and rafters and tiles and falling timber, and when it had passed by, desolation and ruin lay all around. Yet the havoc was not in a continuous line: this strange revolving storm selected its victims in its onward course, overthrowing some and sparing others with the most capricious partiality: uprooting several large yew-trees on my glebe on either side, but Providentially missing the Church and the magnificent yew-tree in the churchyard: and so it threw down garden walls and barns, unroofed cattle-sheds, cottages and ricks, but left quite unmolested others which stood hard by. Finally it hurled a large cart-horse from one end of a yard to the other; threw a cow into an adjacent pond; rolled over a man who had no time to seek shelter, but tried to cling to a bank for protection; and, as a climax, lifted a heavy broad-wheeled waggon clean off the ground and over a high hedge, depositing it on its side a dozen yards or more from where it stood! And yet, amidst all this destruction of roofs, cattle-sheds, barns, and timber-trees, not a single life was lost, nor did any serious injury occur to either man or beast: hair-breadth escapes there were in abundance: men and boys crept forth from the heavy beams and rafters which had fallen all around them in the barns which had been blown down over their heads; large elm-trees fell in all directions across roads and gardens; but mercifully all were preserved from harm; and

though the storm left our village the picture of desolation and ruin, we felt thankful for the Providence which had so signally protected us.[1]

Conclusion.

Thus it will be seen that our little retired parish on the open downs is not without its experiences of sunshine and storm, its rough and smooth, its ups and downs in the battle of life. If its barrows and its old Church had tongues, doubtless they could tell us many a stirring tale of British and Roman, Saxon and Norman times: but now nearly all is forgotten; and we can but trace an outline stretching through the dim ages into the distant past, and regret that so little remains to reward the search of the parish chronicler.

Proposed Repeal of the Test and Penal Statutes by King James the Second, in 1688;

His Questions touching the same, to the Deputy-Lieutenants and Magistrates in Wiltshire, with their Answers thereto: including Confidential Returns of the Parliamentary Interests at that period.

[From the Original State Papers and Documents in the Bodleian Library.]

By Sir George Duckett, Bart.

THE subject of the present paper is entirely connected with the object which James II. had in view from the commencement of his reign, viz., the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith as the religion of the country, and the necessary but preliminary

[1] See my account of this storm in *Magazine*, vol. vi., pp. 365—389.

step thereto, the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Act. He had become a Roman Catholic at the time he was in exile, during the Commonwealth, but had not openly announced his faith until 1671, and the passing of the Test Act in the late reign—by which he was compelled to throw up all his several appointments—was, doubtless, to him a subject of personal grievance, not to be forgotten or tolerated after coming to the throne. By virtue, therefore, of his sole Prerogative, he issued in 1687 his "Declaration of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience," abrogating thereby all oaths and tests, together with his instructions for the election of Members to serve in Parliament, and although this measure led to great discontent among those who looked upon it as jeopardising the Protestant doctrines of the country, it was repeated twelve months after, by another "Declaration of Indulgence," to be read from the pulpit, upon which occasion seven Bishops, who refused to distribute and circulate the same among their clergy, were committed to the Tower.[1]

The King, bent upon the repeal of the main obstacle to his Romish views in the next Parliament[2] that he might be disposed to convoke, had, in furtherance of this object, already instructed, through his Council, the several Lords-Lieutenant of counties throughout England and Wales, to propound certain questions to all the Deputy-Lieutenants and Magistrates in their respective lieutenancies, touching their views on these statutes, with a view naturally to calculate how far he could rely upon a majority in any forthcoming elections[3]; and also to give a semblance of constitutional authority to his acts, which, hitherto, relying solely on his own Prerogative, he had utterly disregarded. These different steps, especially the imprisonment of the bishops—which caused profound indignation throughout the kingdom—brought about a crisis not many months

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[1] The Bishops who protested against the Declaration were: Canterbury, Ely, Peterborough, Norwich, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Gloucester, and Chichester. Seven of them were imprisoned: Sancroft (the Primate), Ken, Lake, Lloyd, Turner, White, and Trelawney.

[2] He had prorogued his last Parliament indefinitely on 20th November, 1685.

[3] The King promised in his second Declaration to hold a parliament in November.

afterwards, which hastened the Revolution and cost him his throne.

In connection with these interrogatories the Lieutenants of counties were instructed to obtain all possible information as to the leaning and tendencies of the different constituencies and county interests, and Returns were sent in giving such information, and other Returns will be found, given in the sequel, by agents employed on this especial service.

The Lords-Lieutenant not having met with the success expected in their questions to the Magistrates, &c., the lists of the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace were revised, and many struck out, the King continuing only those who would be ready to contribute to the repeal of these objectionable statutes; whilst others were added, who would concur and assist towards this end. A subsequent declaration was issued to the same effect. The corporations of the several borough-towns were especially selected to be operated upon and re-modelled. By annulling their charters, and removing those who were hostile to his aims, the choice of the Members at any future elections was secured.

It is, therefore, a matter of no little interest, at that critical juncture of our religious liberties, to consider the nature of the private and confidential information in these returns, in respect of the Wiltshire boroughs, for as a matter of fact the Lord-Lieutenant reported (as stated by Macaulay) "That of sixty Magistrates, with whom he had conferred, only seven had given favorable answers, and that these seven could not be trusted"; so that taken in conjunction with these answers, and the evident disposition of the Magistrates and country gentlemen at that period—the descendants of many of whom remain to this day—we believe the entries relating to the repeal of the laws in question, will prove of considerable local and historical interest.

The volume, whence the ensuing extracts are made, contains the *original* returns, &c., on this question, from nearly every county in England and Wales, and forms one of those valuable and priceless MSS. of the Rawlinson Collection, now in the Bodleian Library.

The period at which these events occurred was too eventful to cause it to be regarded save with the greatest interest.

"RETURN, TRANSMITTED ON THE PART OF THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF WILTSHIRE, TO THE COUNCIL OF KING JAMES II., 168 7/8

34 Parliament-men for Wiltshire.

2 Knights of the Shire;

My L[d] Cornbury,* and S[r] James Long; y[e] old place of electing Knights of y[e] shire is at Wilton, but if it be removed to y[e] Devizes, all y[e] dissenters will come in, and carry it as they please wth a little help.

SALSBURY,	Mr Swaine, Mr Heely.	Strong dissenters: will certainly be chosen, if there be a suplemen-tall charter: and a few new ones added to the corporation.
OLD SARUM,		Is come to be a popular election, and the dissenters joyning wth y[e] Kings friends will choose 2 fitt persons. Mr Pitt, interloper, has y[e] making: y[e] Baily returns the writt.
WILTON,	S[r] John Nicholas Kn[t], Oliver Nicholas, Esq.	My L[d] Pembroke has the chiefe interest here.
DOWNTON,	S[r] Charles Rowly, Mr Eyres.	A Lawyer, a strong dissenter; he manages my L[d] Arundell of Warders concerns.
HINDON,	Robert Hyde Esq	Mr. Hide has the chiefe Interest. Mr. Lambert within mentioned, was one of the last Burgesses, but I prevailed wth him not to stand.
WESTBURY,	Coll Lewis Mr. Bertie.	My L[d] Abbington and Coll. Lewis have the chiefe interest, but there is one M[r]. Trenchard that lives just by may give an oppo-sition, if joyn'd with some person y[t] would spend monies, which will go a great way in y[e] little boroughs. Coll Lewis is a very nere man, and will spend little or nothing.
HEYTSBURY,	William Ashe Esq. Edward Ashe Esq.	These 2 have the sole interest in y[e] Borrough. I was informed by M[r] Jefrys of y[e] Devizes, one of D[r] Coxes agents, and by another dis-senter, that they would be moderate men in this matter.
CALNE,	Mr. Davenant, Mr. Chivers.	M[r]. Davenant and M[r] Chivers have the sole interest; but if a new charter be found proper for the town, M[r] Davenant will be left out.
DEVIZES,	S[r] John Eiles, M[r] Hope.	Very honest and fitt persons to serve his Maj[ty]
CHIPPENHAM	S[r] John Talbott.	Mr. Richard Kent of y[e] custom house, and M[r]. Bainton have the chiefe interest, but if M[r] Kent sticks close to S[r] John Talbott, they will carry it. S[r] James Long, whom I can engage, has a good interest too.

* Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon (which title became extinct, 1723), was the first who joined the standard of William of Orange.

Malmesbury,		This corporation is lately altered, and t'is supposed his Ma^ty^ may have any.
Criclade,	S^r^. Stephen Fox, Collonel Webb.	Have the chiefe interest, and if they joyne will be chosen against any.
Great Bedwin,		My Ld Aylsbury has ye chiefe interest. There is one [*obliterated*] of 200^lb^ has a very good interest, and says if a new charter comes down, they having lost their old one, and he named Bailiff, the King shall have any 2 persons he will name.
Lugdersale,	M^r^. Neale.	Sr Anthony Browne, catholique, has ye chiefe interest.
Wooton Bassett,		My Ld Rochester, and Mr. Moore, catholique, have the chiefe interest.
Marleborough	Sr John Ernly, Chancellor of ye Exchequer, Mr. Rider, an atturney, dissenter.	This charter must be altered, and the Burgesses reduced to 18; M^r^. Lobbs opinion. My Ld Duke of Somersett and my Ld Alsbury have ye present interest, but will not, when ye Charter is altered.

Three Questions propounded by William, Earl of Yarmouth,* Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Wiltshire, to the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the peace within his Lieutenantcy, one by one, in pursuance of his Maties Instructions and commands, signified by a Letter from the Lord President, dated 25th October 1687, together with their several names, to whom the Questions were proposed, and their respective answers to every particular question:

1	2	3
In case you shall bee chosen Knight of the Shire, or Burgess of a Towne, when ye King shall think fitt to call a Parliament, will you be for taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests?	Will you assist and contribute to the Election of such members (of Parliament) as shall be for taking off the Penal Laws and Tests?	Will you support his Majesties Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, by living friendly with those of all Perswasions, as subjects of ye same Prince, and good Christians ought to do?

In obedience to His Maj^ty's^ commands I have asked the three questions to the severall persons following:

First,

Sr Richard How of Wishford, deputy lieutenant;

1 question, says he will not be for taking of any penall Laws or tests, till he

* William Paston, (second) Earl of Yarmouth; ob. s.p.m. 1732. The late Lord-Lieutenant, Thomas (eighth) Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, had declined to put the questions proposed by James II., and like many other Lieutenants of Counties was removed, in this case being superseded by the Earl of Yarmouth.

comes into the house of commons; 2, he will not contribute to the electing such members as shall

3, Declares he wil live friendly with all persons whatsoever, and added when the Parliament mett, he hoped an accomodation would be to the Kings content

Mr. Hide of Hatch,

1 qu. He will not declare what he will do, before he comes into the house of commons

2. He will not contribute to the election of such members as shall be for taking away the penall laws and tests, by reason t'would declare his opinion before hand.

3 With all his heart he will live friendly with all persons of what perswasions soever, and is for a Tolleration.

D Lt Coll. Windham of Salsbury, dep: lieutenant and justice of the peace,

1 He wilbe for the taking away the Penall laws and Tests, so that the Church of England may be secured by laws made to enforce what the King has promised in the Declaration.

2. He will be for choosing such persons as are undoubtedly loyall.

3 That he will live peaceably and quietly with his neibors of all perswasions as long as the Government gives leave.

D Lt Sr John Collins of Chute Lodge,

1 Declares his Judgement is for taking of the penal laws and Tests.

2 He will contribute to the election of such members as shall do it.

3 He will live friendly and peaceably with persons of all perswasions.

D L Sr James Long of Dracott,

1 Is of opinion that Tolleration is best, and is for taking away the penall Laws provided there be a clause inserted against Atheisme, Blasphemy, and for the repealing the Tests he totally relys upon the Kings sense in parliament.

2 He will be for those of the same opinion.

3 He will live friendly and quietly with persons of all perswasions.

Mr Hussy, justice of the peace,

1 Says he will be for taking of the penal Laws and Tests.

2 He will contribute and assist such as shall be for taking them of.

3 That he will support the King's Declaration, by living peacably and quietly with persons of all perswasions.

Coll. Lewis,

1 Declares he is for liberty of conscience, as far as it may consist with the peace of the nation, and will not declare what he will further do as to the repealing ye Tests till the house of Commons meets.

2 He will not concern himself one way or the other in any Election.

3 He will live peaceably and quietly with all his neibors of w^t perswasion soever, and will serve his Maj^{ty} to the uttermost of his power.

Mr. Chaundler, deputy lieutenant,

1 Is of opinion to take away all penall Laws and Tests, so farr as it shall not prejudice the Church of England.

2 That he will for such as are of the same opinion.
3 That he will endeavour to live well with all men of what religion soever.

Sr Gilbert Talbott,

1 If I am chosen a Member of Parliament when his Maj^y^ shall call one, I will as I have ever done in former Parliaments, be entirely govern'd and dirrected by his Maj^ty^ in my votes.
2 I shall give my best assistance to have such Members elected, as shall be for abolishing the penall laws and Tests.
3 I will support the Kings Declaration for liberty of conscience (as a most gratious concession to his subjects), by living friendly with men af all perswasions, as loving subjects and good Christians ought to do.

D Lt Coll. Chivers, deputy lieutenant,

With great intreatys and perswasions I prevailed with Mr. Chivers to be for the taking of the penal laws and tests, and will rely solely upon his Maj^ty^; his chiefest scruple was that he should be hang'd hereafter for what he does at present, and desired great security.

Sr Charles Rawleigh,

1 Does not dissaprove of a liberty of conscience, and when he comes into the house, will endeavour to serve his Maj^ty^ honestly, faithfully, and loyally, but will not declare before hand what he will do.
2 He will neither meddle one way or other.
3 He say'd he would live peaceably with all men.

D Lt Sr Henry Coker, deput: lieutenant and justice of peace,

1 If it be his Maj^ties^ pleasure to have the penall-statutes and the Tests taken of, and that it be for the safety of his Maj^ties^ person, I shall shew my obedience to his commands.
2 The answer above I suppose is also to this.
3 I have with all obedience done it, and shall be ready to obey my Kings so just commands.

M^r^. Fitzherbert, justice of peace,

1 Declares he is for taking of the Penal laws and Tests.
2 He will contribute to the election of such as shall.
3 He will support ye Kings Declaration for living friendly and peaceably with persons of all perswasions.

Mr Scroope, justice of peace, a catholique

1 He is very ready to take of all penall laws and tests.
2 He will readily assist those that shall.
3 He shall do it.

M^r^. Davenant,

1 Say'd he intended to stand for Calne, and would not declare his opinion till he came into the house of Commons.
2 He would not contribute to the electing of any y^t^ should be for ye taking of ye penall laws and tests.
3 He always did and always will do.

Colonel Penrudock deput. lieutenant and justice of peace,

1 Says he has served your Maj^{ty} faithfully, and ever will with his life and fortune, and is for taking away pennall laws, but for the Test he will consider farther of that when he comes unto the house.
2 He will not concern himself in the choice of any member.
3 He will live friendly and peaceably wth every body.

Mr William York, justice of peace,

1 He is not for opposing the King in any of his great designs, provided the Church be secured, not doubting but his Maj^{tys} promise in the Declaration will be made good by a law.
2 He will do his endeavours to assist the King in this matter.
3. He agrees to it with all his soul.

Mr Hill, Recorder of Salsbury and justice of peace,

1 Is for taking of the penall laws, but for ye tests is doubtful and desired longer time to consider of it.
2. He will be for such as are of his opinion.
3 He will with all his heart live peaceably wth persons of all perswasions.

Mr Harris,

1 Is of opinion that the Dissenters ought to enjoy all the freedome the King has given them; is doubtful as to the Test.
2 He has no voice to elect members.
3 He is contented the King should do w^{t} he pleases with his subjects and live peaceably with all men.

Mr Chamberlane,

1 Says he is for giving reasonable Ease to all Dissenters, for the repealing the tests he submits that to parliament.
2 He will not assist one way or other in any election.
3 He has all'ways and is ready to live friendly with his neibors, and with those that will do so with him.

Mr Francis Moore, a catholique,

1 Declares he will with all his heart and soule be for taking of the penall laws and tests.
2 He will assist and contribute to ye election of such members as shall.
3 He will live neiborly with persons of all perswasions.

Mr Bainton, deput. lieutenant,

1 Declares when he heares the debates of the house of commons he shall do as his conscience directs him.
2 He shall be for choosing Loyall men and leaves it to their consicence to do as they think fitt.
3 He will endeavour to live peacably and quietly with his neibors of all perswasions.

Mr George Wroughton, deput. lieutenant and justice of peace,

1 Says he cannot be for taking away ye Penall Laws and tests, Judging it prejudicial to the Church of England.

2 He will not for any of another opinion.
3 That he will endeavour to his utmost to live peacably and quietly with all persons, and adds he will not stand for parliament man though offer'd.

Mr Brewer,

1 Is of opinion that no man ought to be prosecuted for meere matters of relligion, but for repealing Penall Laws and Tests reffers it for the determination of parliament.
2 He will give his voice for such as he believes will serve the King and country faithfully.
3 He is ready to do it.

M^r^. Ashly,

1 To the first he answers in the negative.
2 To the second he says he has little or no interest to contribute to any.
3 He will live amicably and peaceably with every body.

Mr Hirst,

1 He is not for taking away the Penall Laws and Tests.
2 Nor for assisting those that shall.
3 He will live friendly with persons of all perswasions.

Coll. Young,

1 He will not declare his mind till he comes into Parliament, and upon discourse I found he was ill inclined to ye taking of Penal laws and Tests.
2 He will not promise that he will, but say'd that his life and fortune should be ever at his M^tys^ service.
3 T'is his desire to live quietly and peaceably wth persons of all perswasions.

Mr Buckland,

1 If he be chosen Burgesse he will serve ye King faithfully and Loyally.
2 He thinks it not consistent to give a positive answer, it having so immediate relation to the former.
3 He will live neiborly and friendly with persons of all perswasions.

M^r^. Lambert,

1 Says since his Maj^ty^ has been pleased to give a Tolleration for liberty of conscience, is for securing it by law as his Maj^ty^ and his great Councill shall think fitt; for ye test he has not so well considered of it, yett is doubtfull,
2 So that he says he is incapacitated.
3 He will live friendly and quietly with all men, and hopes they will do so with him.

Coll. Deane,

Sent a civill excuse for his not coming and say'd he had given his answer to ye D. of Berwick.

M^r^. Hungerford,

1 Is of opinion to take of penal laws from Dissenters, but for the Tests he cannot be for parting with them.
2 He will not contribute to such persons as shall be for taking of the Tests.

3 T'is his desire to live peaceably with all men; he says his father lost all he had for ye old King.

M^r^. George Tooker, of Kennett,

1 Says he is against taking off either the penal laws or tests.
2 He will not be for those that shall.
3 He will leave peaceably with all the world.

Mr Goddard,

1 Says he will not come into any Publique employ, is not for taking of penall laws or tests.
2 He will endeavour to choose loyall men, as shall be serviceable to his Maj^ty^.
3 He will live friendly and well wth his neibors of all perswasions.

Major Grubb,

1 He will not declare his opinion till he comes into parliament, and upon the debate of the house will governe himself to the best of his judgement to serve the King and Kingdome.
2 He will be for such as are undoubtedly Loyall.
3 He has always and ever will live peaceably and friendly with all persons.

Mr Kent of ye Devizes,

1 He does not propose to be a parliament man, and will leave such matters to ye debate of the ye house.
2 He will not concern himself for ye county being unfitt for travell by reason of indisposition of health.
3 He answered with all his heart, t'is his daily prayer.

The Marquisse of Worcester is out of ye country at Wansted; my Ld Weymouth went out of ye county just before I came down; my Ld Colraine lives on Hampstead hill; my Ld Sterling and my Ld Stawell live in other countys; Mr Swanton deput lieutenant went wth ye judges in the circuit, though he knew I was to be speedily in the country; M^r^. Nicholas, M^r^. Smith, M^r^. Maskellin would not come upon summons; Sr Edmund Warneford went to London; and so did M^r^. Clark and Sr Thomas Mompeson; there are five or six more in the commission of peace dwell constantly at London.

The Catholiques that are fitt to be made Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace are as followeth:

My Lord Sturton,
D. L^t^. M^r^. Thomas Arundell,
D. L^t^. S^r^. John Webb,
S^r^. Anthony Brown of Lurgeshall,
D. L^t^. M^r^. Cottington,
~~Mr Moore~~ (*sic*) *
M^r^. William Browne,
M^r^. Bodenham of Ramsbury,
M^r^. Scroope,
Mr Knipe.

* Erased in the original.

Dissenters that are fitt for Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace :—*
Sr John Eyles of the Devizes,
Sr William Pinceu,
M^r. Groves,
Mr Rider of Marleborough,
Mr William Swain of Salsbury,
Mr Heely of the same place,
Mr Holton,
M^r. Edward Hope, Junior Maior of ye Devizes,
Charles Mitchell Esqr,
Jacob Selfe Esq,
D. Lt M^r. William Trenchard of Gutridge by Westbury,
M^r. Nicholas Green,
D. Lt Lionell Duckett Esq,
a favorer of Dissenters."

[*Rawl. MS. A.* 139^a, *fo.* 191; *Bibl. Bodl.*]

The return of persons who were to replace existing Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenants, appears in the foregoing Report of the Lord-Lieutenant of the county; but care was also taken by the King to appoint agents to visit, especially, the borough and corporate towns, and ascertain and report upon their disposition, in respect of the laws he proposed to abrogate. If a borough or corporate town appeared hostile to the King, it was easy to have recourse to a forfeiture of its charter, and afterwards secure on its renewal an electoral element favorable to the Royal intentions, and certain to return to a new Parliament a member (or members), that would promote their fulfilment.

"Report of King's Agents.

Report from the King's Agents sent into the country to influence the elections for parliament, respecting the counties of Wilts, Dorset, and six others; containing notes on the prospects of all the borough and county elections.

To the Kings most Excellent Matie.

May itt please your Matie

Pursuant to your Maties commands, some of our number, with others their associates, have visited several Corporations and Burroughs that elect Members of Parliament, and some of them being return'd, (viz Dr Nehemiah Cox, and James Clarke, from Wiltshire and Dorsetshire; M^r. Benj Dennis, and Richard Adams from Cambridge, Norfolke, Suffolke, and Essex; and M^r. Nathaniel Wade, John Jones, and Richard Andrewes from Somersett and Devonshire); We most humbly tender to your Matie a briefe acco^te of their transactions, pursuant

* Another return was sent in by the King's special agents (*ut postea*).

to Instructions received by direction from your Matie, and the most Hono^ble Lords of ye Committee for regulating Corporations.

They have discovered all sorts of men in the countrey, as to your Maties most gracious intentions for Repealing the Tests and Penal Lawes for concience in matters of Religion, and doe find many of the Church of England, moderate and well inclined to part with those Tests and Lawes; their Religion being secured according to your Ma^tiee Declarac'on; and soe are the Presbiterians.

The Roman Catholiques, Independants, Anabaptists, and Quaquers, that are numerous in many places, are generally in your Maties interest, notwithstanding the many rumours, and suggestions to divide and create jealousies among them. These are unanimously agreed to elect such members of Parliament, as will abolish these Tests and Lawes.

We also finde, that Mouns^r. Fagells letter, and other Pamphletts are industriously spread through all parts, with discourses and endeavo^rs to prejudice the mindes of those who are faithfull, or inclined to your Maties interest, and that theres noe way yet settled to spread a sufficient number of such other books, as may informe and furnish the countrey with arguments to discover and detect the fallacious subtleties of these pernicious pamphlets; those few we have sent downe and disperst, have had very good effect. This we humbly submitt to your Maties consideration to give effectuall order therein.

We have also settled fitt and proper correspondents in each of those Counties, Corporations, and Borroughs for all services relating to this affaire, by whom we can in a short time be truely informed of any person or thing, and influence any Election, which service, (we doubt nott), they will, from time to time, faithfully and heartily performe, without putting your Matie to any greater charge, than the nature of the worke requires, the effect whereof will farr surmount that charge.

We do not finde that your Maties Revenue Officers have, or doe, improve their power for your Maties service in promoting this service, but on the contrary, severall of them, and of the Post Masters are utterly averse thereunto.

Upon our most strict enquiries, conferences, and information, we finde upon the regulations and measures propos'd for those counties and places, which elect a hundred and forty members, that when your Matie shall please to call your Parliam^t, you may expect above a hundred will be chosen, that will readily concurr with your Matie in abrogating those Tests and Lawes, and we doubt not but many, if not the most of the others, will also declare their consents thereunto.

By the further accounts from those of our number, that are not yett returned, we have good ground to believe, that the same proportions of such like men will at least be chosen in Hampshire, Sussex, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, where Eighty eight are chosen, of which upon their returne, yor Matie. shall have a more distinct account.

The farr greatest part of the Elections in Cornwall, Wales, and the Cinque Ports, which are Eighty four, may allso be secured for your Majesty.

As a further satisfaction to your Matie., we humbly tender an account (soe farr as we could learne from the Electors), who they intend to choose in each of those Counties, Corporations, and Borroughs, from whence those of our number are returned, and what their inclinations are respectively, (vizt)

WILTSHEIRE, The County will incline to John Hall Esqr, who hath an undoubted intrest to be chosen, who is esteemed right; and S^r

James Longe, an acquaintance of the L[d] Yarmouths *; a right man; for these two the Dissenters and county in generall will vote, unless the Lord Cornbury be proposed and recommended to them, for whome a good intrest may be made.†

SARUM, Is a Corporation: the Election is in the boddy Corporate, who are receiving their charter; and though that Citty for y[e] generallity are cross to your Ma[ties] intrest, yett such persons are propos'd to be incerted in that charter, as intend to choose Bennett Swaine, and James Hely, who have great intrest in the Citty, and both undoubtedly right.

WILTON: Is a Corporation; the Election is in the boddy corporate; the Regulation propos'd being past, they will choose John Read, and Mr. Grove, both dissenters. They have noe inclination to their former members.

DOVNTON: Is a Borrough: the Election Popular of above 100: they propose to choose S[r] Charles Raleigh, of whome they have no doubt; he being at great odds with the Church men; and Giles Eyres, that hath bin verry violent, but ambitious of Honour, and supposed he will be right to reconcile himselfe to your Maj[tie], but of those two we are not soe confident.

HINDON: Is a Burrough that chooseth by prescription. There are about 120 Electors, of which S[r] Matthew Andrewes hath about 50, as his Tenants. He is supposed right, but was not discovered by those on the place, he being then in London; nor noe persons yett named for this place; the former members have great intrest, but are not right.

WESTBURY: Is a Borrough that chooseth by Burgess Tenements. This towne is under the influence of the Earle of Abington,‡ who we know not how yett to engage; unless he will only propose Collonell Lewis, who may be inclined to be right; and then the Towne may be made for M[r] Trenchard, who is undoubtedly right, and hath soe declared himselfe.

HEYESBURY Is a Borrough, that chooseth by prescription. The Election is in a few. The Towne is under the power of M[r]. William Ash, who is a right man, who, with his brother Edward Ash, thats allso right, will undoubtedly be chosen.

CALNE: Is a Corporation. The Election is in the boddy Corporate, who by the Regulation proposed will be much under the influence of the Mayor of the Devizes, and Alderman Jeffreyes of that place. The towne hath yett proposed only S[r] George Hungerford, in whom they have a confidence that he is right; they will fix on another good man.

DEVIZES Is a Corporation. The Election is in the boddy corporate, who are soe regulated, that they will undoubtedly choose S[r] John

* Recently nominated Lieutenant of Wiltshire in the room of the Earl of Pembroke, displaced by James II.

† See antea Lord-Lieutenant's Report.

‡ First Earl of Abingdon.

Iles, and Edward Hope, (their present Mayor), who are both right.

CHIPPENHAM: Is a Borrough that chooseth by prescription; about 80 tenements elect; they propose to choose Henry Baynton, and Richard Kent; of whom they are confident.

MALMESBURY Is a Corporation. The Election is in the boddy corporate, and if the Regulation be past, they will choose Walter White of Grittleton, a through right man; and another of whom they will be certaine. The Duke of Beaufort * undertakes for this place.

CRICKLADE: Is a Borrough under the influence of Colonell Edward Webb, and M^r. Charles ffox, who tis supposed will stand for this place. Of these two we are doubtfull, though we hope they may goe right.

GREAT BEDWIN Is a Borrough and the Election popular. They desire to be incorporated, and have agreed on persons in order thereunto. They will choose such as shall declare themselves right. They are under ye influence of Marlbrough, who will advise wth Dr Cox as to their choyse

LUGDERSALE Is a Borrough. The Election popular; consists of about 75. They intend to choose Thomas Neale, who is supposed right, being ambitious to please your Majesty; and Henry Clarke, who is a verry ill man, and nott to be reconciled to your Maties interest, except the feare of looseing his office in the Allination Office, will engage him.

OLD SARUM Is a Burrough; the Electors butt few; it is supposed they will choose their old Members, Sr Eliab Harvey, and Sr Thomas Mompasson, who have always favoured the Dissenters, and bin for liberty.

WOOTEN BASSETT.—Is a Borrough that is under the power of the Earle of Rochester,† and will choose such as his Lo^pp. shall nominate, which tis presumed will be such as your Matie will desire.

MARLBROUGH Is a Corporation; the Election is in the boddy corporate; there is a Quo Warranto issued against their Charter, and persons agreed upon to be named in a new one. They have consented to choose such as yor Majesty, or D^r. Cox shall recommend unto them."

[Here follow the Dorsetshire, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Somersetshire, and Devonshire Returns.]

"We further humbly acquaint your Majesty that for the other Counties, Corporations, and Burroughs, We cannot at present give soe Distinct account of them, there haveing not as yett bin any person sent to them; but by answers to letters

* First Duke of Beaufort; cr. 1682, ob. 1699.

† Lawrence Hyde, first Viscount Hyde, of Kenilworth (second son of Edward, first Earl of Clarendon); was created Earl of Rochester in 1682; was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; ob. 1711.

and information received, We have good reason to believe, that the greatest part by farr of those that will be chose for those places, will out of Inclination readily concurr with your Majesty, to abolish those Lawes and Tests.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty"

[*Endorsed*]

"Report of Parliament men for
Wilts, Suffolke,
Dorsett, Essex
Cambridge, Somersett,
Norfolk, Devon.
April 19th 1688."

[*Rawl. MS. A.* 139. *B.*]

"List of Persons Proposed as Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace for the County of Wilts:—

Persons proposed to be Deputy Lieutenants:

Sr. James Long,
Sr. John Collins of Chute Lodge,
Sr Henry Coker,
Coll John Windham of Salisbury,
Coll Chivers,
Chandler Esqr.

new ones:

Thomas Arundell Esqr,
Henry Arundell Esqr,
Coll Howard,
Sr John Webb,
Sr Anthony Brown of Lurgeshall,
Cottington Esq,
Trenchard of Gutheridge Esqr,
Lionell Duckett, Esqr.

Justices of the Peace:

Sr John Ernley,
Sr Stephen Fox,
Sr John Talbott,
Hussey, Esqr,
Fitzherbert Esqr,
Francis Moore Esqr,
William York Esqr,
Scroope Esqr.

new ones:

Lord Sturton,
Sr John Eyles of the Devizes,

Sr William Pinceu,
Coll, Stoakes,
William Brown Esqr,
Bodenham of Ramsbury Esqr,
Knipe Esqr,
Edward Hope Esqr,
Robert Groves Esqr,
Rider of Marlborough Esqr,
Samuel Eyres Esqr,
William Swain of Salisbury Esqr,
[James] Heely of tbe same Esqr,
[Lionel] Holton Esqr,
Charles Mitchell Esq,
Jacob Self Esqr,
Nicholas Green Esqr,
Walter Green Esqr,"

[*Endorsed*]

" Dep' Lts and Justices of Wilts
June 1688 "

Original Letters from the Wiltshire Commissioners to Cromwell in 1655.

[Extracted from the Original State Papers in the Bodleian Library.]

By Sir George Duckett, Bart.

Original Letter from the Wiltshire Commissioners to Cromwell :—

" May it please yor highnes,

" In obedience to yor commands, wee this day wayted upon ye Right Hono^ble^ Gen'rall Disbrowe, who haveing communicated to us yor orders, and Instruct'ons for the secureinge of the Peace of the Com'wealth, wee, humbly

resenting them, as most just and reasonable, and most conduceinge to the end therein specifyed; will and doe most cordially ingage o^r selves in the worke, and both in this and all other thinges else, shalbe ready to observe and obey yor highnes commands, who are

"Yo^r highnes most humble
and faithfull servants,

"New Sarum the 7th day of Dec 1655"

(Signed), JOHN DOVE,*
WILL^M LUDLOWE, HUM: EYRE,
T. REDE, NICH: GREENE,
RICHARD HILL LIOL: HOLTON,
W^M BLISSETT THO: EYRE
JA: HELY JAMES BRIDGES"

[*Endorsed*]

"A letter fro' the Commiss^rs for the county of Wilts, expressing their readinesse to put in execuc'on the instructions received from Major Gen. Disbrowe Saru' Dec ye 7th (55)"

[*Addressed*]

"To his highnes att
Whitehall, these
present
for ye service of spd
ye com'wealth"

Seal in red wax: a cross charged with a leopard's head, within a bordure; crest, a man's head in profile ppr, couped at the shoulders, wreathed about the temples, and tied in a knot.[1]

[*Rawl. MS. A.* 33. *fo.* 157.]

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM TWO OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF WILTSHIRE, TO CROMWELL, DATED FROM SALISBURY, 13TH MARCH, 1655:—

"May it please yor Highness,

"It haveing beene your pleasure, to appoint us two of yor Highness Commissio^rs for this county of Wilts, who with others have made it our business faithfully to pursue our Instruccons, as alsoe to discover such of yor Highness Enemies, as heretofore hath beene concealed, divers whereof have beene brought under this new Assesment; but finding their have beene Applicacons made to

* Colonel John Dove was High Sheriff of Wilts in 1655.

[1] These are the arms of Bridges, Lord Mayor of London, 1520.

your Highness, by and conserning some p'sons contrary to our expectacons, wee cannot but in faithfulness to yor Highness, and the trust we have undertaken, make knowne our thoughts unto you theirin. At our first Sitting in this county, the Commission^rs^ received a letter from your Highness to forbear the assesing of the Lord Seamor, which, in obeadience to your Highness sade letter, was done accordinglie; though for our parte, we are much unsatisfied of any change of his former principles. Since that tyme we finde their hath beene applicacons made to your Highness, concerning Mr. Seamor, sonne to the sade Lord, who was of the late Kings Commission for sequestring the Parliaments party for this countie, and satt in the execuc'on theirof; as alsoe for one Mr Yorke, who was actually in armes in the late Kinges owne troupe, and otherwise a dangerous person, as doth appear to us by his discouraginge honest men in their assisting the Parliament at the late Worcester fight, and is still a discountenanser of Religious people; and as it is a wonder to us, how such a person as this latter, should lie unquestioned all this while, soe we cann noe less admire, that now he is bringing to the Light, any should appear to yor Highness for him, as alsoe for the sade Mr. Seamor, soe as to hinder just proceedings against them; a thing of which nature, wee that have runn the Hazzards of our lives with your Highniss, for this Twelve or fourteen yeares, durst not adventure to attempt. Mr. Yorke hath never yett beene publiquely questioned for beinge of that party, by which meanes both himself, as alsoe one Mr. Norden, another dangerous person in this county, obteined to be of the last parliament, through the disaffection of some people, to the great greife of honest men. Now my Lord, all that we aime at is, that the Masque of these men may be pulled off, and the country have a right knowledge of them; as alsoe that we may be able to give an accoumpt of the justness of our proceedings, in carrying an equall hand to all that come before us, according to our Instrucc'ons, w^t^out respect of persons; and lastly, that they may not stand in the way of good people for the future. Thus haveing faithfully acquainted your Highness concerninge the persons aforesade, wee humbly leave it to yor Highness' considerac'on, whether you will please to referr the sayd Mr. Seamor and Mr. Yorke to a tryall before the Commission^rs^ here, or otherwise doe as to yor Highness shall seeme meet; and soe craving pardon for this boldness and trouble, wee subscribe our selves,

"Yo^r^ Highnesse most humble, and faithfull servants.

"Sarum this 13th of March 1655" (Signed) Liol. Holton,*
Ja. Hely."

[*Addressed*]

"For his Highnesse the Lord Protector at Whitehall,
These humblie
Presente."

[*Rawl. MS. A.* 36. *fo.* 437; *Bibl. Bodl.*]

* This signature occurs in three or four other entries, and may be in one case taken for "Hotton."

Avebury.—The Beckhampton Avenue.

By the Rev. Bryan King, M.A.

CANON JACKSON, in his valuable notes to Aubrey's "Wiltshire Collections," is led to contrast the plans and descriptions of Avebury and its avenues as given by Aubrey and Stukeley respectively.

He states that the ground-plans of Aubrey were drawn seventy years before those of Stukeley, and from this and other circumstances draws the inference of the greater authority of those of Aubrey.

This inference seriously affects the question of the existence at any period of an avenue of stones leading in the direction of Beckhampton corresponding to that which leads to Kennet.

Thus, Mr. Jackson writes (p. 325), "of a stone avenue leading from Abury to Beckhampton (which is the great point in dispute) Aubrey says not one word. He mentions the three gigantic blocks of stone called 'The Devil's Coits,' (now the Long Stones) which lay on that side of Abury and of which two are still left standing; but no other, great or small, standing upright anywhere near them. If on that side of Abury there were any not upright, but lying about or half-buried in the ground, it is clear that they did not attract his eye as stones that had ever formed part of the general structure. Stukeley's statement, on the other hand, is that coming out of the earthwork on the road towards Beckhampton he saw stones, some lying in the very road, some in the pastures; and that he was told of others that had been broken up in the fields all within a few years prior to 1722. Upon what certainly must be called very slender evidence, he created an avenue of two hundred stones running some way beyond Beckhampton and ending in a point upon the open downs. . . The narrowing of the latter part of this supposed avenue, and its ending in a point, are admitted by Stukeley

himself to be only *a supposition.* . . The end of the Beckhampton avenue being fanciful, it is not impossible that the same fancy may also have been at work in constructing other parts of it."

Now, Mr. Jackson is led to attach greater weight to the testimony of Aubrey than to that of Stukeley on the grounds that he visited Avebury seventy years before Stukely did (p. 323, *note*), that he "visited it frequently" (*Ib.*), that he noticed of the earthwork that it was an ill-shaped monument" (p. 324), whilst Stukeley gives it as perfectly circular, which it is not, and that he depicts the Kennet avenue as "running straight" from Abury to Kennet (p. 324), whereas, according to Stukeley, "on coming out of Abury it curved a little."

Now, in presuming to traverse the above grounds of Mr. Jackson's preference of the authority of Aubrey to that of Stukeley, I do so, not as venturing for a moment to place my own authority in competition with that which justly attaches to the venerable name of Canon Jackson, but solely on the ground that during a residence in Avebury of sixteen years, I have had unusual opportunities of observation on a subject on which I have taken a very deep interest.

I am led, then, to question whether Aubrey did make frequent visits to Avebury, and still more strongly to question his accuracy of observation when he did make his visits; and this on the following grounds:—

At the very outset of his remarks upon the subject he writes, "Abury is four miles west from Marlborough" (p. 319), whereas it is full *six* miles distant, and but little short of this "as the crow flies."

Then he writes (p. 323) "Southwards from Abury in the ploughed field near Kynet, doe stand three huge upright stones, perpendicularly, like the three [1] stones (within the earthwork) at Abury; they are called "The Devill's Coytes." Now these stones instead of being *southward* of Avebury and near *Kennet,* are in fact *westward* from Avebury, and near *Beckhampton!*

---

[1] I presnme these to be the three stones then forming the centre of the north circle or temple.

And, lastly, in a note to his remarks upon the length of the Kennet avenue, he states (p. 370) "a shower of rain hindered me from measuring it."

Now I submit that the inevitable inference to be drawn from these extracts is, that the visits of Aubrey to Avebury were of a very casual and cursory character, and further that his observation founded on those visits was most careless and inaccurate; for as Mr. Jackson justly observes (p. 324), "If we wish to know how far Aubrey is trustworthy as to what is gone, his plans should be tested, so far as they can, by what remains."

I have already instanced one such test in the case of the large Beckhampton stones; and in reference to that blunder, so utterly unaccountable in any person who had ever seen the stones in question, a blunder by which Aubrey has transplanted these large stones from their position in the Beckhampton avenue—a full mile eastward—to a position in the Kennet avenue, I may surely ask, "Is it at all surprising that any other stones 'lying about or half-buried in the ground,' in the neighbourhood of those Beckhampton stones, should not have 'attracted his eye as stones that had ever formed part of the general structure'?"

I will now apply Mr. Jackson's test to the two instances selected by himself, and then to some other similar ones.

Aubrey, then, delineates the Kennet avenue as running in a straight line from Avebury, whereas Stukeley describes it as "curving a little." Now happily we have left standing a very massive stone of this part of the avenue, in the east bank of the road leading from Avebury to Kennet, which conclusively proves the accuracy of Stukeley and the glaring inaccuracy of Aubrey's plan. Of this part of the avenue Mr. Jackson says (p. 324), "Its course in that part cannot be identified with certainty, but it may have made a little deviation to avoid going up a hill."

Now, for my part, I cannot conceive it even *possible* that those who had moved the stone in question a distance of a mile-and-a-half from the head of the "Grey Wethers," literally "up hill and down dale," would be deterred from moving it a few yards further up a slight acclivity in order to place it in its allotted position; but, how-

ever this may have been, *there* certainly the stone stands, implying by its actual position a distinct curve in the part of the avenue as it left Avebury.

And now with respect to the second test adduced by Mr. Jackson; *i.e.*, the delineations, given by Aubrey and Stukeley respectively, of the vallum, or earthwork, surrounding the temple. On this point I admit that the engraving of Stukeley is too symmetrical; this however may possibly have been the fault of the engraver, for I must here state that, however fanciful may have been some of his *theories*, this inaccuracy is the one solitary instance of the slightest deviation from scrupulous accuracy which I have ever detected in the plans or descriptions of Stukeley; Mr. Long, in his admirable compendium, "Abury Illustrated," accurately describes this earthwork as "not quite circular;" but let anyone compare the two plans of Aubrey and Stukeley with that given by Mr. Long—which is, I think, singularly accurate—and he will see that the vallum of Aubrey deviates from that of Mr. Long much more in its irregularity than Stukeley's does in regularity.

Thus much respecting the two test instances noticed by Mr. Jackson. I will now notice two others in addition.

Aubrey, in his "Survey," draws the southern circle or temple as just one-half the diameter of that of the northern temple, whereas Stukeley makes them of equal diameter.

Now happily we have remaining a segment of each of these circles or temples (five stones of the southern and four of the northern), sufficient to enable us to judge of the utter inaccuracy of this part of Aubrey's plan; in which, over and above this grave blunder, he has dotted down the stones in the most "higgledy piggledy" manner and with the most utter disregard of their relative distances, whereas Stukeley has placed them all in their exact actual positions.

And then, as a final test, both Aubrey and Stukeley have given an engraving of the Church; and here I venture to say that whilst that of Aubrey would be almost equally appropriate as the drawing of any other Church in Wiltshire, that of Stukeley, considering the small scale, is given with an accuracy that is really marvellous, an accuracy

which has even aided Mr. Withers in his present work of restoring the building to its original character.

My readers will now be able to appreciate the relative accuracy of Aubrey and Stukeley in respect of their descriptions of Avebury.

And now I come to the important question—the existence of the Beckhampton avenue.

First then in the Kennet avenue we have remaining not only fourteen[1] stones *in situ* about mid-way between Avebury and Kennet, but we also have two stones on the Avebury side of those fourteen, and two on the Kennet side, all of an unusual size, and therefore offering more than ordinary difficulty in their destruction; and in addition to all these, we have four others in the hedge-bank on the south side of the road leading from Kennet to Marlborough. How is it then that we have only *two* large stones remaining in their original position of the presumed Beckhampton avenue?

To this question there is an obvious answer.

Between Avebury and Kennet there is not a single cottage nor stone wall, for the erection of which the stones of the avenue were needed; and so happily after all the smaller stones of the avenue, in the neighbourhood of Avebury and Kennet respectively, were used for building purposes, those fourteen—just midway between the two villages, and therefore the last required for such purposes—were left undisturbed; whilst the four in the hedge-bank were probably spared on the ground of their serving as a boundary-mark between the road and the adjacent field.

And now compare this condition of the Kennet avenue with that of the presumed line of the Beckhampton one.

Beginning then with the walls of the churchyard, and of the Church, and of the manor-house, with its enclosures, in an entire length of full half-a-mile from the earthwork on the west side of Avebury to the corner of the large field in which the two large stones near Beckhampton now stand, there are very few lineal yards which are not occupied by causeway, walls or cottages, all formed

[1] Three of these stones are from a foot to eighteen inches below the surface.

of sarsen stone, sufficient, and more than sufficient, to absorb all the stones of the Beckhampton avenue.

But now as to some of the *positive* evidence for the existence of this avenue.

Stukeley then speaks of ten stones of this avenue known to have been standing within memory between the exit of the avenue from the vallum and the brook (*i.e.*, within a distance of about three hundred yards of the earthwork) and further states that "Farmer Griffin broke near twenty of the stones" of the part of the avenue to the eastward of the cove; whilst Mr. Lucas, in 1795, who was an occupant of the vicarage-house in which I now reside, states, in some "general remarks" appended to a poem on Abury, that "the Beckhampton avenue was also visible, though not so perfect as the other, in the memory of the late Mr. John Clements (aged eighty-five at the time of his death), who could clearly point it out. This had been chiefly demolished by Farmer Griffin and Richard Fowler."

In confirmation of this testimony to the existence of the Beckhampton avenue I will now give the results of my own observation.

The late James Paradise, who died in the year 1871, at the age of sixty-eight years, informed me that he remembered a large sarsen stone, such as those within the earthwork, lying in the road nearly opposite to his house and outside the northwest corner of the vicarage premises, which was broken up on account of its being in the way of the gateway leading into the meadow at the west of the vicarage premises; a fragment of this stone, nearly five feet long, is now lying on the spot.

On this line, leading westward from Avebury towards the large Beckhampton stones, I myself found a sarsen stone six feet long, now supporting the causeway,[1] a little on the eastern side of the brook; and another, a little further westward, at the base of the third pier of the bridge over the brook, five feet six inches long: whilst again a little further westward, lying on the surface of the causeway, is another sarsen stone, upwards of seven feet long, and

[1] The late Joseph Robinson, a descendant of the notorious "Tom," assured me, on his life-long experience as a mason, that all the stones of this causeway are the broken fragments of larger stones.

of nearly equal width; a little further to the westward again from this stone, in the farm-yard of the manor-house called "Avebury Truslowe" there are several large stones; whilst at the edge of the pond at the road-side near the corner of the field in which the large stones of Beckhampton stand, there are several large sarsen stones, one of five feet six inches, another of five feet in length and others of nearly the same size. Then, some years ago, I availed myself of the opportunity when the field had been recently ploughed, and found several "sarsen chips" (*i.e.*, small fragments of sarsen stones) near the north-east corner of the field in question, and other similar "chips" about mid-way between that corner and the "cove;" and others also a little beyond, or westward of, the cove itself; all these giving their mute testimony to Farmer Griffin's destructive handiwork; for I have the assurance of my neighbour Mr. Kemm that such "chips" are only found in those places in which large sarsen stones have been broken up.

I have already spoken of the almost continuous line of sarsen stones for about half-a-mile in length in this westward direction from Avebury, along the presumed route of the Beckhampton avenue; and when I state—as I now do advisedly—that on no other line out of Avebury, besides that of the Kennet avenue, is there *one-tenth* proportion of sarsen stones as now exist on this precise line, I am, I think, entitled to ask, whether the evidence of the former existence of the Beckhampton avenue is not irresistible, and whether the merely negative evidence on the point of one so utterly careless and untrustworthy as I have shewn Aubrey to be, is entitled to the very slightest weight.

BRYAN KING.

Avebury Vicarage,
Sept. 10*th*, 1879.

Review of Books.

"The History of Warminster," by the Rev. J. J. Daniell, Vicar of Winterbourne Stoke and Berwick St. James, and formerly Curate of Warminster:—

Is just such a little volume of Parochial History as we should like to see published for every one of the towns of this county, though we fear few possess so good an historian as Mr. Daniell. Entering into details without being prolix, and recounting the minutiæ which go so far to make up local history without being tediously diffuse, the author has hit the happy medium: and while he has left little or nothing untouched, never wearies the reader with too minute description, but passes on from historical to parochial matters, and recounts things municipal, ecclesiastical, and personal, with impartial hand. In short, we heartily commend the "History of Warminster" as the very sample of what a Parish History should be. [Ed.]

"Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis," or a Calendar of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Members of the Cathedral Body at Salisbury; from the earliest times to the present. By William Henry Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Sarum, and Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

Such is the title of Canon Jones' work on the Cathedral dignitaries of Salisbury, a most valuable and interesting memorial of the See of Sarum, the result of great labour and perseverance, and compiled from many and recondite sources only accessible to so accomplished an Archæologist as the indefatigable author. The work is to be completed in two parts, and the first portion has only just appeared as these last pages of the *Magazine* are going to press: we can therefore merely say on a very hasty examination that Part I. seems fully to come up to the high standard of merit generally expected from such a work by the pen of Canon Jones. The history of the Episcopate of Salisbury embraces a period extending from very early times to the present, shows the gradual formation of the diocese in Wessex from the early part of the seventh century, and includes a list of the Bishops of Winchester, Sherborne, Ramsbury, and Old Sarum, previous to the creation of the Diocese of Salisbury, as we now understand it. The history of the Archdeacons in the Diocese of Sarum concludes the book so far as it has yet appeared, and contains some account of the Archdeacons of Dorset, Berks, Sarum, and Wilts, from their earliest institution at the close of the eleventh century to the present date. The book is well and clearly printed by Messrs. Brown, of Salisbury, and we look forward to its completion next spring, when a full account of the rest of the Cathedral Body is promised in the second part; the whole forming—we venture to predict—a very useful as well as interesting volume, for which the diocese at large, and the members of the Great Chapter of Salisbury in particular, are deeply indebted to the painstaking researches of Canon Jones. [Ed.]

END OF VOL. XVIII.

H. F. & E. BULL, Printers and Publishers, 4, Saint John Street Devizes.